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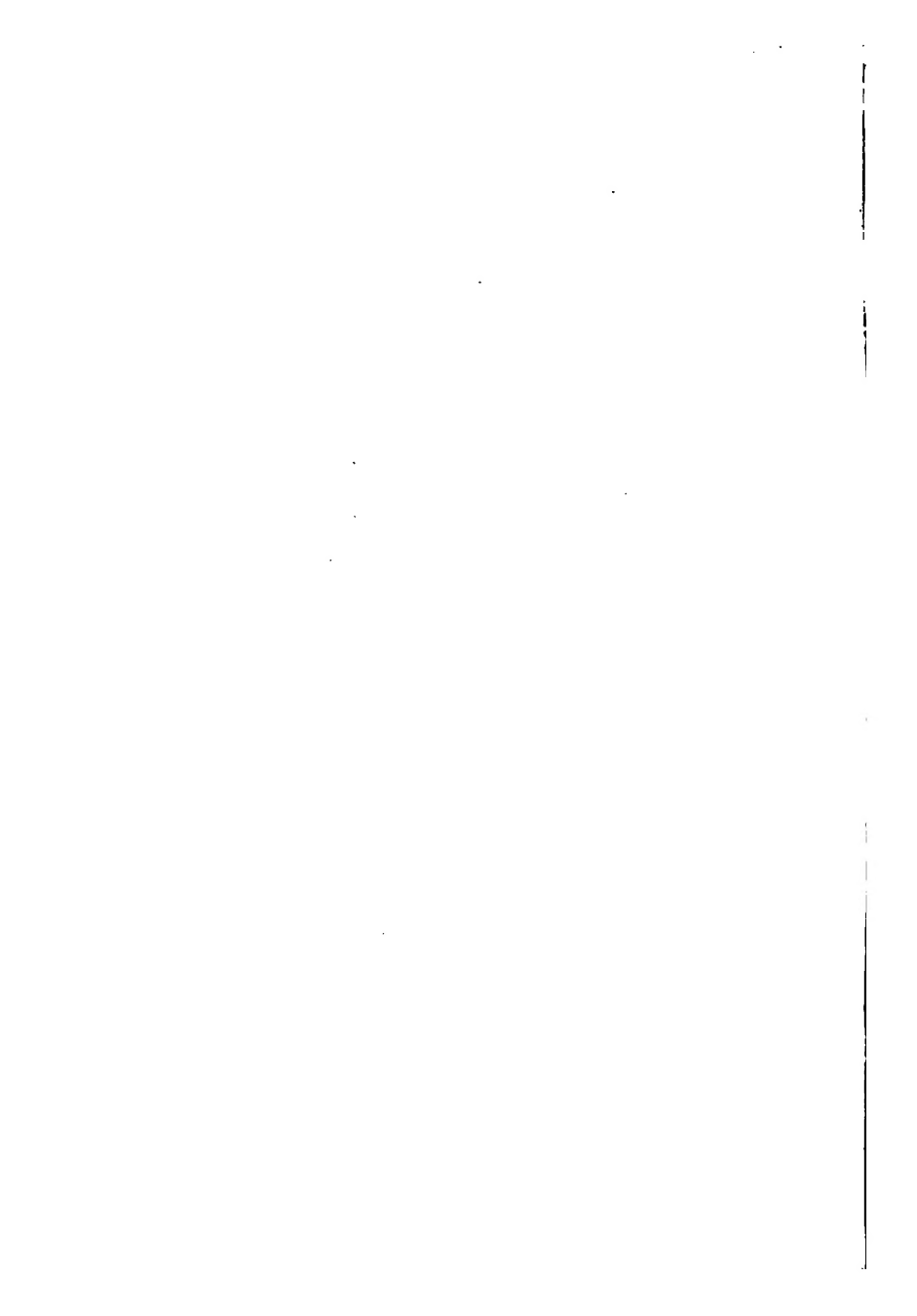
ANABASIS OF XENOPHON

BOOK V.

CAMBRIDGE







**XENOPHON'S ANABASIS,**

**BOOK V.**



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THE ANABASIS OF  
XENOPHON,  
BOOK V.

*WITH ENGLISH NOTES*

BY

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WITH NOTES, FOR THE USE OF SCHOOLS.



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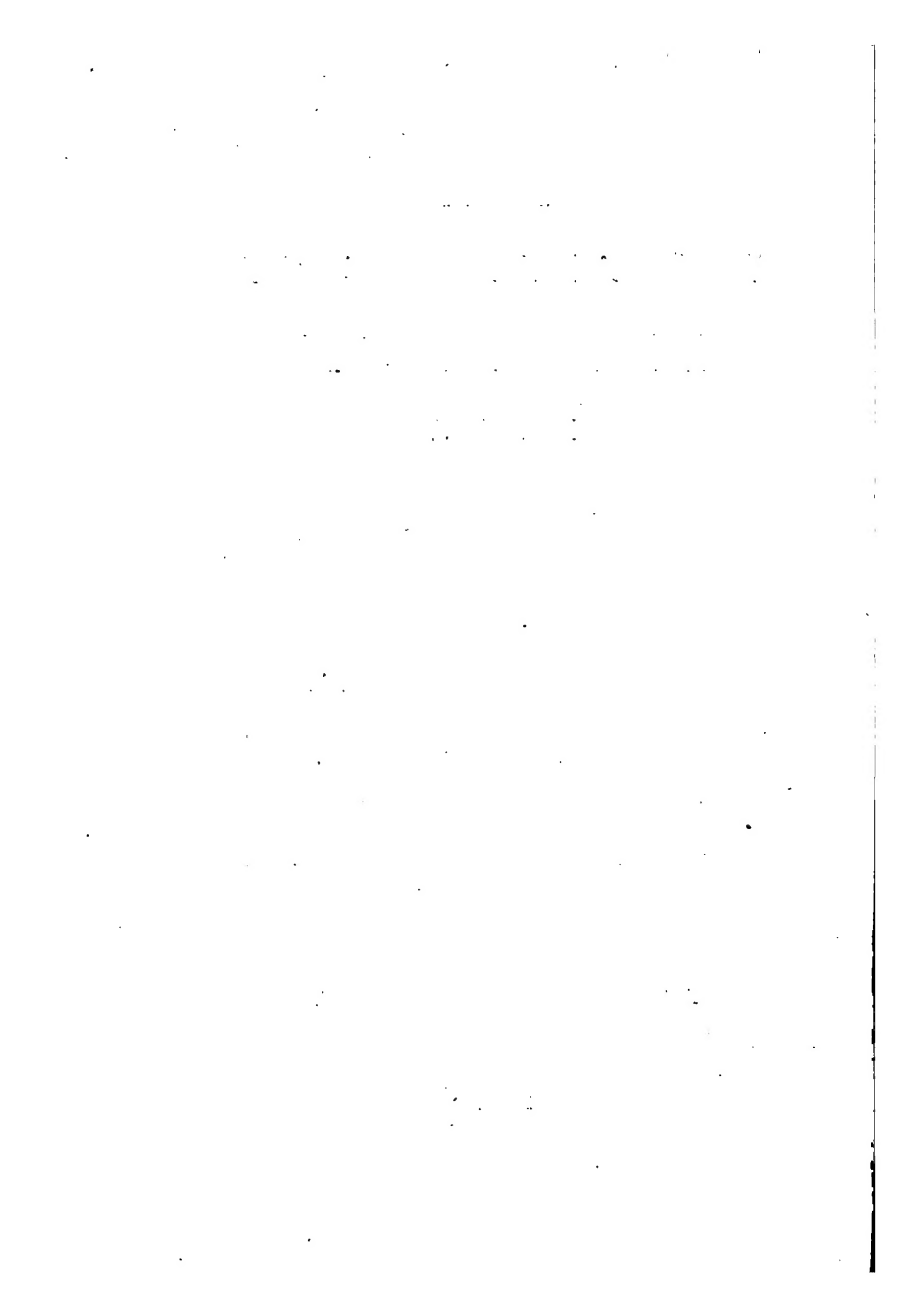
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## PREFACE.

IN preparing an edition of the present book of the *Anabasis*, I have had recourse to the same authorities as before, while I am especially indebted to the admirable commentary of Kühner. It was my intention to have added to the notes on this occasion some general remarks on the life and character and writings of Xenophon, together with a map shewing the probable course taken by the Expedition. On consideration, however, I have decided to postpone any such additions for the present in the hope that I may soon be enabled to treat these questions in reference to the work as a whole.

ST CATHARINE'S COLLEGE,  
*October, 1876.*



## ΞΕΝΟΦΩΝΤΟΣ

### ΚΥΡΟΥ ΑΝΑΒΑΣΙΣ.

Ε'.

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#### CAPUT I.

1. "Οσα μὲν δὴ ἐν τῇ ἀναβάσει τῇ μετὰ Κύρου ἔπραξαν οἱ Ἕλληνες, καὶ ἐν τῇ πορείᾳ τῇ μέχρις ἐπὶ θάλατταν τὴν ἐν τῷ Εὐξείνῳ Πόντῳ, καὶ ὡς εἰς Τραπεζοῦντα, πόλιν Ἑλληνίδα, ἀφίκοντο, καὶ ὡς ἀπέθυσαν αὐτοῖς εὐχάντο σωτήρια θύσειν, ἔνθα πρῶτον εἰς φιλίαν γῆν ἀφίκοντο, ἐν τῷ πρόσθεν λόγῳ δεδήλωται. 2. Ἐκ δὲ τούτου ξυνελθόντες ἐβουλευόντο περὶ τῆς λοιπῆς πορείας· ἀνέστη δὲ πρῶτος Ἀντιλέων Θούριος καὶ ἔλεξεν ὥδε· Ἐγὼ μὲν τοίνυν, ἔφη, ὦ ἄνδρες, ἀπείρηκα ἤδη ξυσκευαζόμενος καὶ βαδίζων καὶ τρέχων καὶ τὰ ὅπλα φέρων καὶ ἐν τάξει ἰὼν καὶ φυλακὰς φυλάττων καὶ μαχόμενος, ἐπιθυμῶ δὲ ἤδη παυσάμενος τούτων τῶν πόνων, ἐπεὶ θάλατταν ἔχομεν, πλεῖν τὸ λοιπὸν καὶ ἐκταθεῖς, ὥσπερ Ὀδυσσεύς, [καθεύδων] ἀφικέσθαι εἰς τὴν Ἑλλάδα. 3. Ταῦτα ἀκούσαντες οἱ στρατιῶται ἀνεθορύβησαν, ὡς εὖ λέγοι· καὶ ἄλλος ταῦτ' ἔλεγε, καὶ πάντες οἱ παρόντες. Ἐπειτα δὲ Χειρίσοφος ἀνέστη

καὶ εἶπεν ὧδε· 4. Φίλος μοί ἐστιν, ὦ ἄνδρες, Ἀναξίβιος, ναυαρχῶν δὲ καὶ τυγχάνει. Ἦν οὖν πέμψητέ με, οἶομαι ἂν ἐλθεῖν καὶ τριήρεις ἔχων καὶ πλοῖα τὰ ἡμᾶς ἄξοντα· ὑμεῖς δέ, εἴπερ πλεῖν βούλεσθε, περιμένετε, ἔστ' ἂν ἐγὼ ἔλθω· ἥξω δὲ ταχέως. Ἀκούσαντες ταῦτα οἱ στρατιῶται ἥσθησάν τε καὶ ἐψηφίσαντο πλεῖν αὐτὸν ὡς τάχιστα.

5. Μετὰ τοῦτον Ξενοφῶν ἀνέστη καὶ ἔλεξεν ὧδε· Χειρίσοφος μὲν δὲ ἐπὶ πλοῖα στέλλεται, ἡμεῖς δὲ ἀναμενούμεν. Ὅσα μοι οὖν δοκεῖ καιρὸς εἶναι ποιεῖν ἐν τῇ μονῇ, ταῦτα ἐρῶ. 6. Πρῶτον μὲν τὰ ἐπιτήδεια δεῖ πορίζεσθαι ἐκ τῆς πολεμίας· οὔτε γὰρ ἀγορά ἐστιν ἱκανή, οὔτε ὕτου ὠνησόμεθα εὐπορία, εἰ μὴ ὀλίγοις τισίν· ἡ δὲ χώρα πολεμία· κίνδυνος οὖν πολλοὺς ἀπύλλυσθαι, ἣν ἀμελῶς τε καὶ ἀφυλάκτως πορεύησθε ἐπὶ τὰ ἐπιτήδεια. 7. Ἀλλὰ μοι δοκεῖ σὺν προνομαῖς λαμβάνειν τὰ ἐπιτήδεια, ἄλλως δὲ μὴ πλανᾶσθαι, ὡς σώξῃσθε, ἡμᾶς δὲ τούτων ἐπιμελείσθαι. Ἔδοξε ταῦτα. 8. Ἐτι τοίνυν ἀκούσατε καὶ τάδε· Ἐπὶ λεῖαν γὰρ ὑμῶν ἐκπορεύονται τινες· οἶομαι οὖν βέλτιστον εἶναι ἡμῖν εἰπεῖν τὸν μέλλοντα ἐξίεναι, φράζειν δὲ καὶ ὅποι, ἵνα καὶ τὸ πλῆθος εἰδῶμεν τῶν ἐξιόντων καὶ τῶν μενόντων, καὶ ξυμπαρασκευάζωμεν, ἐάν τι δέῃ, κἂν βοηθήσῃσι τισι καιρὸς ᾗ, εἰδῶμεν, ὅποι δεήσει βοηθεῖν, καὶ ἐάν τις τῶν ἀπειροτέρων ἐγχειρῇ ποι, ξυμβουλευόμεν, πειρώμενοι εἰδέναι τὴν δύναμιν, ἐφ' οὓς ἂν ἴωσιν. 9. Ἔδοξε καὶ ταῦτα. Ἐννοεῖτε δὲ καὶ τόδε, ἔφη. Σχολὴ τοῖς πολεμίοις ληΐζεσθαι· καὶ δικαίως ἡμῖν ἐπιβουλεύουσιν· ἔχομεν γὰρ τὰ ἐκείνων· ὑπερκάθηται δ' ἡμῶν. Φύλακας δὴ μοι δοκεῖ δεῖν περὶ τὸ στρατόπεδον εἶναι· ἐὰν οὖν κατὰ μέρος μερισθέντες φυλάττωμεν καὶ σκοπῶμεν,

ἦττον ἂν δύναιτο ἡμᾶς θηρᾶν οἱ πολέμιοι. 10. Ἐτι τοίνυν ταδε ὁράτε. Εἰ μὲν ἡπιστάμεθα σαφῶς, ὅτι ἤξει πλοῖα Χειρίσοφος ἄγων ἱκανά, οὐδὲν ἂν ἔδει ὦν μέλλω λέγειν· νῦν δ', ἐπεὶ τοῦτο ἄδηλον, δοκεῖ μοι πειρᾶσθαι πλοῖα συμπαρασκευάζειν καὶ αὐτόθεν. Ἦν μὲν γὰρ ἔλθῃ, ὑπαρχόντων ἐνθάδε, ἐν ἀφθονωτέροις πλευσούμεθα· ἐὰν δὲ μὴ ἄγῃ, τοῖς ἐνθάδε χρησόμεθα. 11. Ὅρῳ δὲ ἐγὼ πλοῖα πολλάκις παραπλέοντα· εἰ οὖν αἰτησάμενοι παρὰ Τραπεζουντίων μακρὰ πλοῖα κατάγοιμεν καὶ φυλάττοιμεν αὐτά, τὰ πηδάλια παραλνόμενοι, ἕως ἂν ἱκανὰ τὰ ἄξοντα γένηται, ἴσως ἂν οὐκ ἀπορήσαιμεν κομιδῆς, οἷας δεόμεθα. Ἔδοξε καὶ ταῦτα. 12. Ἐννοήσατε δ', ἔφη, εἰ εἰκὸς καὶ τρέφειν ἀπὸ κοινοῦ, οὓς ἂν κατάγωμεν, ὅσον ἂν χρόνον ἡμῶν ἔνεκεν μένωσι, καὶ ναῦλον ξυνθέσθαι, ὅπως ὠφελοῦντες καὶ ὠφελῶνται. Ἔδοξε καὶ ταῦτα. 13. Δοκεῖ τοίνυν μοι, ἔφη, ἣν ἄρα καὶ ταῦτα ἡμῖν μὴ ἐκπεραίνηται, ὥστε ἀρκεῖν πλοῖα, τὰς ὁδοὺς, ἃς δυσπόρους ἀκούομεν εἶναι, ταῖς παρὰ θάλατταν οἰκουμέναις πόλεσιν ἐντείλασθαι ὁδοποιεῖν· πείσονται γὰρ καὶ διὰ τὸ φοβεῖσθαι καὶ διὰ τὸ βούλεσθαι ἡμῶν ἀπαλλαγῆναι.

14. Ἐνταῦθα δὴ ἀνέκραγον, ὡς οὐδέοι ὁδοιπορεῖν. Ὁ δὲ ὡς ἔγνω τὴν ἀφροσύνην αὐτῶν, ἐπεψήφισε μὲν οὐδέν, τὰς δὲ πόλεις ἐκούσας ἔπεισεν ὁδοποιεῖν λέγων, ὅτι θάττον ἀπαλλάσσονται, ἣν εὐποροὶ γένωνται αἱ ὁδοί. 15. Ἐλαβον δὲ καὶ πεντηκόντορον παρὰ τῶν Τραπεζουντίων, ᾗ ἐπέστησαν Δέξιππον Λάκωνα περίοικον. Οὗτος ἀμελήσας τοῦ ξυλλέγειν πλοῖα ἀποδράς ᾤχετο ἔξω τοῦ Πόντου ἔχων τὴν ναῦν. Οὗτος μὲν οὖν δίκαια ἔπαθεν ὕστερον ἐν Θράκῃ γὰρ παρὰ Σεύθῃ πολυπραγμονῶν τι ἀπέθανεν ὑπὸ Νικάνδρου τοῦ Λάκωνος.

16. Ἐλαβον δὲ καὶ τριακόντορον, ἣ ἐπεστάθη Πολυκράτης Ἀθηναῖος, ὃς ὅποσα λαμβάνοι πλοῖα κατήγεν ἐπὶ τὸ στρατόπεδον. Καὶ τὰ μὲν ἀγώγιμα, εἴ τι ἦγον, ἐξαιρούμενοι φύλακας καθίστασαν, ὅπως σῶα εἴη, τοῖς δὲ πλοίοις χρῆσαιντο εἰς παραγωγὴν. 17. Ἐν ᾧ δὲ ταῦτα ἦν, ἐπὶ λείαν ἐξήρσαν οἱ Ἕλληνες· καὶ οἱ μὲν ἐλάβανον, οἱ δὲ καὶ οὐ. Κλεαίνετος δ' ἐξαγαγὼν καὶ τὸν ἑαυτοῦ καὶ ἄλλον λόχον πρὸς χωρίον χαλεπὸν αὐτὸς τε ἀπέθανε καὶ ἄλλοι πολλοὶ τῶν σὺν αὐτῷ.

## CAPUT II.

1. Ἐπεὶ δὲ τὰ ἐπιτήδεια οὐκέτι ἦν λαμβάνειν, ὥστε ἀπαυθημερίζειν ἐπὶ τὸ στρατόπεδον, ἐκ τούτου λαβὼν Ξενοφῶν ἡγεμόνας τῶν Τραπεζουντίων ἐξάγει εἰς Δρίλας τὸ ἥμισυ τοῦ στρατεύματος, τὸ δὲ ἥμισυ κατέλιπε φυλάττειν τὸ στρατόπεδον· οἱ γὰρ Κόλχοι, ἅτε ἐκπεπτωκότες τῶν οἰκιῶν, πολλοὶ ἦσαν ἀθρόοι καὶ ὑπερεκάθηντο ἐπὶ τῶν ἄκρων. 2. Οἱ δὲ Τραπεζούντιοι, ὁπόθεν μὲν τὰ ἐπιτήδεια ῥάδιον ἦν λαβεῖν, οὐκ ἦγον· φίλοι γὰρ αὐτοῖς ἦσαν· εἰς τοὺς Δρίλας δὲ προθύμως ἦγον, ὅφ' ὧν κακῶς ἔπασχον, εἰς χωρία τε ὀρεινὰ καὶ δύσβατα καὶ ἀνθρώπους πολεμικωτάτους τῶν ἐν τῷ Πόντῳ.

3. Ἐπεὶ δὲ ἦσαν ἐν τῇ ἄνω χώρᾳ οἱ Ἕλληνες, ὅποια τῶν χωρίων τοῖς Δρίλαις ἀλώσιμα εἶναι ἐδόκει, ἐμπιπράντες ἀπήρσαν· καὶ οὐδὲν ἦν λαμβάνειν, εἰ μὴ ὕς ἢ βοὺς ἢ ἄλλο τι κτῆνος τὸ πῦρ διαπεφευγός. Ἐν δ' ἦν χωρίον μητρόπολις αὐτῶν· εἰς τοῦτο πάντες ξυνεῤῥήκεσαν. Περὶ δὲ τοῦτο ἦν χαράδρα ἰσχυρῶς βαθεῖα καὶ πρόσοδοι χαλεπαὶ πρὸς τὸ χωρίον. 4. Οἱ δὲ πελτασταὶ προδραμόντες στάδια πέντε ἢ ἕξ τῶν ὀπλιτῶν διαβάντες

τὴν χαράδραν, ὁρῶντες πρόβατα πολλὰ καὶ ἄλλα χρήματα, προσέβαλλον πρὸς τὸ χωρίον· ξυνείποντο δὲ καὶ δορυφόροι πολλοὶ οἱ ἐπὶ τὰ ἐπιτήδεια ἐξωρμημένοι· ὥστε ἐγένοντο οἱ διαβάντες πλείους ἢ εἰς δισχιλίους ἀνθρώπους. 5. Ἐπεὶ δὲ μαχόμενοι οὐκ ἐδύναντο λαβεῖν τὸ χωρίον, καὶ γὰρ τάφρος ἦν περὶ αὐτὸ εὐρεία ἀναβεβλημένη καὶ σκόλοπες ἐπὶ τῆς ἀναβολῆς καὶ τύρσεις πυκναὶ ξύλιναι πεποιημέναι, ἀπιέναι δὴ ἐπεχείρουν· οἱ δὲ ἐπέκειντο αὐτοῖς. 6. Ὡς δὲ οὐκ ἐδύναντο ἀποτρέχειν, ἦν γὰρ ἐφ' ἐνὸς ἡ κατάβασις ἐκ τοῦ χωρίου εἰς τὴν χαράδραν, πέμπουσι πρὸς Ξενοφῶντα· ὁ δὲ ἡγεῖτο τοῖς ὀπλίταις. 7. Ὁ δ' ἐλθὼν λέγει, ὅτι ἔστι χωρίον χρημάτων πολλῶν μεστόν· τοῦτο οὔτε λαβεῖν δυνάμεθα· ἰσχυρὸν γάρ ἐστιν· οὔτε ἀπελθεῖν ῥάδιον· μάχονται γὰρ ἐπεξεληλυθότες καὶ ἡ ἄφοδος χαλεπή.

8. Ἀκούσας ταῦτα ὁ Ξενοφῶν προσαγαγὼν πρὸς τὴν χαράδραν τοὺς μὲν ὀπλίτας θέσθαι ἐκέλευσε τὰ ὄπλα, αὐτὸς δὲ διαβὰς σὺν τοῖς λοχαγοῖς ἐσκοπεῖτο, πότερον εἴη κρεῖττον ἀπάγειν καὶ τοὺς διαβεβηκότας, ἢ καὶ τοὺς ὀπλίτας διαβιβάζειν, ὡς αἰώντος ἂν τοῦ χωρίου. 9. Ἐδόκει γὰρ τὸ μὲν ἀπαγαγεῖν οὐκ εἶναι ἄνευ πολλῶν νεκρῶν, ἐλεῖν δ' ἂν ᾤοντο καὶ οἱ λοχαγοὶ τὸ χωρίον. Καὶ ὁ Ξενοφῶν ξυνεχώρησε τοῖς ἱεροῖς πιστεύσας· οἱ γὰρ μάντιες ἀποδεδευγμένοι ἦσαν, ὅτι μάχη μὲν ἔσται, τὸ δὲ τέλος καλὸν τῆς ἐξόδου. 10. Καὶ τοὺς μὲν λοχαγούς ἐπεμπε διαβιβάσοντας τοὺς ὀπλίτας, αὐτὸς δ' ἔμμενεν ἀναχωρίσας ἅπαντας τοὺς πελταστὰς καὶ οὐδένα εἶα ἀκροβολίζεσθαι. 11. Ἐπεὶ δ' ἤκου οἱ ὀπλίται, ἐκέλευσε τὸν λόχον ἕκαστον ποιῆσαι τῶν λοχαγῶν, ὡς ἂν κράτιστα οἴηται ἀγωνιέσθαι· ἦσαν γὰρ οἱ λοχαγοὶ πλησίον ἀλλήλων, οἱ πάντα τὸν χρόνον ἀλλήλοις περὶ



ἀνδραγαθίας ἀντεποιοῦντο. 12. Καὶ οἱ μὲν ταῦτα ἐποιοῦν ὁ δὲ τοῖς πελτασταῖς πᾶσι παρήγγειλε διηγκυλωμένους ἵεναι, ὥς, ὁπόταν σημήνη, ἀκοντίζειν [δεήσων], καὶ τοὺς τοξότας ἐπιβεβλησθαι ἐπὶ ταῖς νευραῖς, ὥς, ὁπόταν σημήνη, τοξεύειν, καὶ τοὺς γυμνήτας λίθων ἔχειν μεσ-  
τὰς τὰς διφθέρας· καὶ τοὺς ἐπιτηδεῖους ἔπεμψε τούτων ἐπιμεληθῆναι.

13. Ἐπεὶ δὲ πάντα παρεσκεύαστο, καὶ οἱ λοχαγοὶ καὶ οἱ ὑπολοχαγοὶ καὶ οἱ ἀξιούντες τούτων μὴ χεῖρους εἶναι πάντες παρατεταγμένοι ἦσαν καὶ ἀλλήλους μὲν δὴ ξυνεώρων, \*μνηοειδῆς\* γὰρ διὰ τὸ χωρίον ἢ παράταξις ἦν, 14. ἐπεὶ δ' ἐπαιάνισαν, καὶ ἡ σάλπιγξ ἐφθέγγετο, ἅμα τε τῷ Ἐνναλίῳ ἠλάλαξαν καὶ ἔθεον δρόμῳ οἱ ὀπλῖται, καὶ τὰ βέλη ὁμοῦ ἐφέρετο, λόγχοι, τοξεύματα, σφενδόνας, πλείστοι δ' ἐκ τῶν χειρῶν λίθοι· ἦσαν δὲ οἱ καὶ πῦρ προσέφερον. 15. Ὑπὸ δὲ τοῦ πλήθους τῶν βελῶν ἔλιπον οἱ πολέμιοι τὰ τε σταυρώματα καὶ τὰς τύρσεις, ὥστε Ἀγασίας Στυμφάλιος καὶ Φιλόξενος Πελληνεὺς καταθέμενοι τὰ ὅπλα ἐν χιτῶνι μόνον ἀνέβησαν, καὶ ἄλλος ἄλλον εἶλκε, καὶ ἄλλος ἀναβεβήκει· καὶ ἠλώκει τὸ χωρίον, ὥς ἐδόκει. 16. Καὶ οἱ μὲν πελτασταὶ καὶ οἱ ψιλοὶ ἐσδραμόντες ἤρπαζον ὃ τι ἕκαστος ἐδύνατο· ὁ δὲ Ξενοφῶν στὰς κατὰ τὰς πύλας ὁπόσους ἐδύνατο κατεκάλυ[σ]ε τῶν ὀπλιτῶν ἕξω· πολέμιοι γὰρ ἄλλοι ἐφαίνοντο ἐπ' ἄκροις τισὶν ἰσχυροῖς. 17. Οὐ πολλοῦ δὲ χρόνου μετὰ γενομένου κραυγῇ τε ἐγένετο ἔνδον, καὶ ἔφευγον οἱ μὲν καὶ ἔχοντες ἃ ἔλαβον, τάχα δὲ τις καὶ τετρωμένος· καὶ πολὺς ἦν ὠθισμὸς ἀμφὶ τὰ θύρετρα. Καὶ ἐρωτώμενοι οἱ ἐκπίπτοντες ἔλεγον, ὅτι ἄκρα τέ ἐστὶν ἔνδον καὶ οἱ πολέμιοι πολλοί, οἱ παλοῦσιν ἐκδε-  
δραμηκότες τοὺς ἔνδον ἀνθρώπους.

18. Ἐνταῦθα ἀνειπεῖν ἐκέλευσε Τολμίδην τὸν κήρυκα ἵνα εἰσω τὸν βουλόμενόν τι λαμβάνειν. Καὶ ἴεντο πολλοὶ εἰσω, καὶ νικῶσι τοὺς ἐκπίπτοντας οἱ εἰσωθούμενοι καὶ κατακλείουσι τοὺς πολεμίους πάλιν εἰς τὴν ἄκραν. 19. Καὶ τὰ μὲν ἔξω τῆς ἄκρας πάντα διηρπάσθη, καὶ ἐξεκομίσαντο οἱ Ἕλληνες· οἱ δὲ ὀπλίται ἔθεντο τὰ ὄπλα, οἱ μὲν περὶ τὰ σταυρώματα, οἱ δὲ κατὰ τὴν ὁδὸν τὴν ἐπὶ τὴν ἄκραν φέρουσαν. 20. Ὁ δὲ Ξενοφῶν καὶ οἱ λοχαγοὶ ἐσκόπουν, εἰ οἷόν τε εἴη τὴν ἄκραν λαβεῖν· ἦν γὰρ οὕτω σωτηρία ἀσφαλής, ἄλλως δὲ πάνυ χαλεπὸν ἐδόκει εἶναι ἀπελθεῖν· σκοποῦμένοις δὲ αὐτοῖς ἔδοξε παντάπασιν ἀνάλωτον εἶναι τὸ χωρίον. 21. Ἐνταῦθα παρεσκευάζοντο τὴν ἀφοδὸν, καὶ τοὺς μὲν σταυροὺς ἕκαστοι τοὺς καθ' αὐτοὺς διήρουν, καὶ τοῖς ἀχρεοῦς καὶ φορτία ἔχοντας ἐξεπέμποντο καὶ τῶν ὀπλιτῶν τὸ πλῆθος καταλιπόντες οἱ λοχαγοὶ οἷς ἕκαστος ἐπίστευεν.

22. Ἐπεὶ δὲ ἤρξαντο ἀποχωρεῖν, ἐπεξέθεον ἔνδοθεν πολλοὶ γέρρα καὶ λόγχας ἔχοντες καὶ κνημίδας καὶ κράνη Παφλαγονικά· καὶ ἄλλοι ἐπὶ τὰς οἰκίας ἀνέβαινον τὰς ἔνθεν καὶ ἔνθεν τῆς εἰς τὴν ἄκραν φερούσης ὁδοῦ· 23. ὥστε οὐδὲ διώκειν ἀσφαλές ἦν κατὰ τὰς πύλας τὰς εἰς τὴν ἄκραν φερούσας· καὶ γὰρ ξύλα μεγάλα ἐπερρρίπτουν ἄνωθεν, ὥστε χαλεπὸν ἦν καὶ μένειν καὶ ἀπιέναι· καὶ ἡ νύξ φοβερά ἦν ἐπιούσα. 24. Μαχομένων δ' αὐτῶν καὶ ἀπορουμένων, θεῶν τις αὐτοῖς μηχανὴν σωτηρίας δίδωσιν. Ἐξαπίνης γὰρ ἀνέλαμψεν οἰκία τῶν ἐν δεξιᾷ, οὗτον δὲ ἐνάψαντος. Ὡς δ' αὕτη ξυνέπιπτεν, ἔφευγον οἱ ἀπὸ τῶν ἐν δεξιᾷ οἰκιῶν. 25. Ὡς δ' ἔμαθεν ὁ Ξενοφῶν τοῦτο παρὰ τῆς τύχης, ἐνάπτειν ἐκέλευε καὶ τὰς ἐν ἀριστερᾷ οἰκίας, αἱ ξύλιναι ἦσαν, ὥστε καὶ ταχὺ ἐκαίοντο. Ἐφευγον οὖν καὶ οἱ ἀπὸ

τούτων τῶν οἰκίων. 26. Οἱ δὲ κατὰ στόμα δὴ ἔτι μόνοι ἐλύπονν καὶ δῆλοι ἦσαν, ὅτι ἐπικείσονται ἐν τῇ ἐξόδῳ τε καὶ καταβάσει. Ἐνταῦθα παραγγέλλει φορεῖν ξύλα, ὅσοι ἐτύγχανον ἔξω ὄντες τῶν βελῶν, εἰς τὸ μέσον ἑαυτῶν καὶ τῶν πολεμίων. Ἐπεὶ δὲ ἱκανὰ ἤδη ἦν, ἐνήψαν· ἐνήπτου δὲ καὶ τὰς παρ' αὐτὸ τὸ χαράκωμα οἰκίας, ὅπως οἱ πολέμιοι ἀμφὶ ταῦτα ἔχοιεν. 27. Οὕτω μόλις ἀπῆλθον ἀπὸ τοῦ χωρίου πῦρ ἐν μέσῳ ἑαυτῶν καὶ τῶν πολεμίων ποιησάμενοι. Καὶ κατεκαύθη πᾶσα ἡ πόλις καὶ αἱ οἰκίαι καὶ αἱ τύρσεις καὶ τὰ σταυρώματα καὶ τὰλλα πάντα πλὴν τῆς ἀκρας.

28. Τῇ δὲ ὑστεραίᾳ ἀπήεσαν οἱ Ἕλληνες ἔχοντες τὰ ἐπιτήδεια. Ἐπεὶ δὲ τὴν κατάβασιν ἐφοβοῦντο τὴν εἰς Τραπεζοῦντα, πρηνὴς γὰρ ἦν καὶ στενὴ, ψευδενέδραν ἐποιήσαντο. 29. καὶ ἀνὴρ Μυσὸς τὸ γένος καὶ τοῦνομα τοῦτο ἔχων τῶν Κρητῶν λαβὼν δέκα ἔμενευ ἐν λασίῳ χωρίῳ καὶ προσεποιεῖτο τοὺς πολέμιους πειρᾶσθαι λανθάνειν· αἱ δὲ πέλται αὐτῶν ἄλλοτε καὶ ἄλλοτε διεφαίνοντο χαλκαὶ οὔσαι. 30. Οἱ μὲν οὖν πολέμιοι ταῦτα διορῶντες ἐφοβοῦντο ὡς ἐνέδραν οὔσαν· ἡ δὲ στρατιὰ ἐν τούτῳ κατέβαινε. Ἐπεὶ δὲ ἐδόκει ἤδη ἱκανὸν ὑπεληλυθῆναι τῷ Μυσῷ, ἐσήμηνε φεύγειν ἀνὰ κράτος· καὶ ὃς ἐξαναστὰς φεύγει καὶ οἱ σὺν αὐτῷ. 31. Καὶ οἱ μὲν ἄλλοι Κρήτες, ἀλίσκεσθαι γὰρ ἔφασαν τῷ δρόμῳ, ἐκπεσόντες ἐκ τῆς ὁδοῦ εἰς ὕλην κατὰ τὰς νάπας καλινδούμενοι ἐσώθησαν· ὁ Μυσὸς δὲ κατὰ τὴν ὁδὸν φεύγων ἐβόα βοηθεῖν. 32. καὶ ἐβοήθησαν αὐτῷ καὶ ἀνέλαβον τετρωμένον. Καὶ αὐτοὶ ἐπὶ πόδα ἀνεχώρουν βαλλόμενοι οἱ βοηθήσαντες καὶ ἀντιτοξεύοντές τινες τῶν Κρητῶν. Οὕτως ἀφίκοντο ἐπὶ τὸ στρατόπεδον πάντες σῶοι ὄντες.

## CAPUT III.

1. Ἐπεὶ δὲ οὔτε Χειρίσοφος ἦκεν, οὔτε πλοῖα ἱκανὰ ἦν, οὔτε τὰ ἐπιτήδεια ἦν λαμβάνειν ἔτι, ἐδόκει ἀπιτέον εἶναι. Καὶ εἰς μὲν τὰ πλοῖα τοὺς τε ἀσθενούντας ἐνεβίβασαν καὶ τοὺς ὑπὲρ τετταράκοντα ἔτη καὶ παῖδας καὶ γυναῖκας καὶ τῶν σκευῶν ὅσα μὴ ἀνάγκη ἦν ἔχειν. Καὶ Φιλήσιον καὶ Σοφαίνετον, τοὺς πρεσβυτάτους τῶν στρατηγῶν, εἰσβιβάσαντες τούτων ἐκέλευον ἐπιμελεῖσθαι· οἱ δὲ ἄλλοι ἐπορεύοντο· ἡ δὲ ὁδὸς ὠδοπεποιημένη ἦν. 2. Καὶ ἀφικνούνται πορευόμενοι εἰς Κερασοῦντα τριταῖοι, πόλιν Ἑλληνίδα ἐπὶ θαλάττῃ, Σινωπέων ἀποικον, ἐν τῇ Κολχίδι χώρᾳ. 3. Ἐνταῦθα ἔμειναν ἡμέρας δέκα· καὶ ἐξέτασις σὺν τοῖς ὅπλοις ἐγίνετο καὶ ἀριθμός· καὶ ἐγένοντο ὀκτακισχίλιοι καὶ ἑξακόσιοι. Οὐτοὶ ἐσώθησαν [ἐκ τῶν ἀμφὶ τοὺς μυρίους]· οἱ δὲ ἄλλοι ἀπώλοντο ὑπὸ τε τῶν πολεμίων καὶ τῆς χιόνος καὶ εἴ τις νόσφ.

4. Ἐνταῦθα καὶ διαλαμβάνουσι τὸ ἀπὸ τῶν αἰχμαλώτων ἀργύριον γενόμενον· καὶ τὴν δεκάτην, ἣν τῷ Ἀπόλλωνι ἐξεῖλον καὶ τῇ Ἐφεσίᾳ Ἀρτέμιδι, [καὶ] διέλαβον οἱ στρατηγοὶ τὸ μέρος ἕκαστος φυλάττειν τοῖς θεοῖς· ἀντὶ δὲ Χειρισόφου Νέων ὁ Ἀσιναῖος ἔλαβε. 5. Ξενοφῶν οὖν τὸ μὲν τοῦ Ἀπόλλωνος ἀνάθημα ποιησάμενος ἀνατίθησιν εἰς τὸν ἐν Δελφοῖς τῶν Ἀθηναίων θησαυρὸν καὶ ἐπέγραψε τό τε αὐτοῦ ὄνομα καὶ τὸ Προξένου, ὃς σὺν Κλεάρχῳ ἀπέθανε· ξένος γὰρ ἦν αὐτοῦ. 6. Τὸ δὲ τῆς Ἀρτέμιδος τῆς Ἐφεσίας, ὅτε ἀπῆει σὺν Ἀγησιλάῳ ἐκ τῆς Ἀσίας τὴν εἰς Βοιωτοὺς ὁδόν, καταλείπει παρὰ Μεγαβύζῳ, τῷ τῆς Ἀρτέμιδος νεωκόρῳ, ὅτι αὐτὸς κινδυνεύ-

σων ἐδόκει ἰέναι [μετὰ Ἀγησιλάου ἐν Κορωνεῖα]· καὶ ἐπέστειλεν, ἣν μὲν αὐτὸς σωθῇ, αὐτῷ ἀποδοῦναι, ἣν δέ τι πάθῃ, ἀναθεῖναι ποιησόμενον τῇ Ἀρτέμιδι ὅ τι οἴοιτο χαριεῖσθαι τῇ θεῷ. 7. Ἐπεὶ δ' ἔφυγεν ὁ Ξενοφῶν, κατοικούντος ἤδη αὐτοῦ ἐν Σκιλλοῦντι, ὑπὸ τῶν Λακεδαιμονίων οἰκισθέντος παρὰ τὴν Ὀλυμπίαν, ἀφικνέεται Μεγάβυζος εἰς Ὀλυμπίαν θεωρήσων καὶ ἀποδίδωσι τὴν παρακαταθήκην αὐτῷ. Ξενοφῶν δὲ λαβὼν χωρίον ὠνεῖται τῇ θεῷ, ὅπου ἀνείλεν ὁ θεός. 8. Ἐτυχε δὲ διὰ μέσου ῥέων τοῦ χωρίου ποταμὸς Σελινοῦς. Καὶ ἐν Ἐφέσῳ δὲ παρὰ τὸν τῆς Ἀρτέμιδος νεῶν Σελινοῦς ποταμὸς παρὰ ῥεῖ, καὶ ἰχθύες δὲ ἐν ἀμφοτέροις ἔνεισι καὶ κόγχαί· ἐν δὲ τῷ ἐν Σκιλλοῦντι χωρίῳ καὶ θῆραι πάντων, ὅποσα ἐστὶν ἀγρευόμενα θηρία. 9. Ἐποίησε δὲ καὶ βωμὸν καὶ ναὸν ἀπὸ τοῦ ἱεροῦ ἀργυρίου καὶ τὸ λοιπὸν δὲ αἰεὶ δεκατεύων τὰ ἐκ τοῦ ἀγροῦ ὥραϊα θυσίαν ἐποίει τῇ θεῷ, καὶ πάντες οἱ πολῖται καὶ οἱ πρόσχωροι ὁμοῦ ἄνδρες καὶ γυναῖκες μετείχον τῆς ἑορτῆς. Παρεῖχε δὲ ἡ θεὸς τοῖς σκηνώσιν ἄλφιστα, ἄρτους, οἶνον, τραγήματα καὶ τῶν θυομένων ἀπὸ τῆς ἱερᾶς νομῆς λάχος καὶ τῶν θηρευομένων δέ. 10. Καὶ γὰρ θήραν ἐποιούντο εἰς τὴν ἑορτὴν οἱ τε Ξενοφῶντος παῖδες καὶ οἱ τῶν ἄλλων πολιτῶν, οἱ δὲ βουλόμενοι καὶ ἄνδρες ξυνεθήρων καὶ ἡλίσκετο τὰ μὲν ἐξ αὐτοῦ τοῦ ἱεροῦ χώρου, τὰ δὲ καὶ ἐκ τῆς Φολόης, σύες καὶ δορκάδες καὶ ἔλαφοι. 11. Ἔστι δὲ [ἡ χώρα] ἥ ἐκ Λακεδαιμόνος εἰς Ὀλυμπίαν πορεύονται, ὡς εἴκοσι στάδιοι ἀπὸ τοῦ ἐν Ὀλυμπίᾳ Διὸς ἱεροῦ. Ἐνὶ δ' ἐν τῷ ἱερῷ χώρῳ καὶ λειμῶν καὶ ἄλση καὶ ὄρη δένδρων μεστά, ἱκανὰ καὶ σὺς καὶ αἰγας καὶ βοῦς τρέφειν καὶ ἵππους, ὥστε καὶ τὰ τῶν εἰς τὴν ἑορτὴν ἰόντων ὑποζύγια εὐωχεῖσθαι. 12. περὶ δὲ αὐτὸν τὸν ναὸν ἄλλος ἡμέρων δένδρων

ἐφυτεύθη, ὅσα ἐστὶ τρωκτὰ ὥραϊα. Ὁ δὲ ναὸς ὡς μικρὸς  
μεγάλῳ τῷ ἐν Ἐφέσῳ εἴκασται, καὶ τὸ ξόανον ἔοικεν ὡς  
κυπαρίττινον χρυσῷ ὄντι τῷ ἐν Ἐφέσῳ. 13. Καὶ στήλη  
ἕστηκε παρὰ τὸν ναὸν γράμματα ἔχουσα· ΙΕΡΟΣ Ο  
ΧΩΡΟΣ ΤΗΣ ΑΡΤΕΜΙΔΟΣ. ΤΟΝ ΕΧΟΝΤΑ  
ΚΑΙ ΚΑΡΠΟΤΜΕΝΟΝ ΤΗΝ ΜΕΝ ΔΕΚΑΤΗΝ  
ΚΑΤΑΘΕΙΝ ΕΚΑΣΤΟΤ ΕΤΟΥΣ. ΕΚ ΔΕ ΤΟΥΤ  
ΠΕΡΙΤΤΟΤ ΤΟΝ ΝΑΟΝ ΕΠΙΣΚΕΤΑΖΕΙΝ. ΑΝ  
ΔΕ ΤΙΣ ΜΗ ΠΟΙΗΙ ΤΑΤΤΑ ΤΗΙ ΘΕΩΙ ΜΕ-  
ΛΗΣΕΙ.

## CAPUT IV.

1. Ἐκ Κερασούντος δὲ κατὰ θάλατταν μὲν ἐκομί-  
ζοντο οἵπερ καὶ πρόσθεν, οἱ δ' ἄλλοι κατὰ γῆν ἐπορεύ-  
οντο. 2. Ἐπεὶ δὲ ἦσαν ἐπὶ τοῖς Μοσσυνοίκων ὁρίοις,  
πέμπουσιν εἰς αὐτοὺς Τιμησίθεον τὸν Τραπεζούντιον,  
πρόξενον ὄντα τῶν Μοσσυνοίκων, ἐρωτῶντες, πότερον  
ὡς διὰ φιλίας ἢ διὰ πολεμίας πορεύσονται τῆς χώρας.  
Οἱ δὲ εἶπον, ὅτι οὐ \*διήσοιεν\*. ἐπίστευον γὰρ τοῖς  
χωρίοις. 3. Ἐντεῦθεν λέγει ὁ Τιμησίθεος, ὅτι πολέ-  
μοι εἰσιν αὐτοῖς οἱ ἐκ τοῦ ἐπέκεινα. Καὶ ἐδόκει καλέσαι  
ἐκείνους, εἰ βούλιντο ξυμμαχίαν ποιήσασθαι· καὶ πεμφ-  
θεὶς ὁ Τιμησίθεος ἤκεν ἄγων τοὺς ἄρχοντας. 4. Ἐπεὶ  
δὲ ἀφίκοντο, συνήλθον οἱ τε τῶν Μοσσυνοίκων ἄρχοντες  
καὶ οἱ στρατηγοὶ τῶν Ἑλλήνων· καὶ ἔλεξε Ξενοφῶν, ἡρ-  
μήνευε δὲ Τιμησίθεος.

5. Ὡς ἄνδρες Μοσσύνοικοι, ἡμεῖς βουλόμεθα διασω-  
θῆναι πρὸς τὴν Ἑλλάδα περὶ πλοῖα γὰρ οὐκ ἔχομεν·  
κωλύουσι δὲ οὗτοι ἡμᾶς, οὓς ἀκούομεν ὑμῖν πολεμίους  
εἶναι. 6. Εἰ οὖν βούλεσθε, ἔξεστιν ὑμῖν ἡμᾶς λαβεῖν

ξύμαχους καὶ τιμωρήσασθαι, εἴ τί ποτε ὑμᾶς οὗτοι ἡδικήκασιν, καὶ τὸ λοιπὸν ὑμῶν ὑπηκόους εἶναι τούτους. 7. Εἰ δὲ ἡμᾶς ἀφήσετε, σκέψασθε, πόθεν αὖθις ἂν τοσαύτην δύναμιν λάβοιτε ξύμμαχον. 8. Πρὸς ταῦτα ἀπεκρίνατο ὁ ἄρχων τῶν Μοσσυνοίκων, ὅτι καὶ βούλονται ταῦτα καὶ δέχονται τὴν ξυμμαχίαν. 9. Ἀγετε δὴ, ἔφη ὁ Ξενοφῶν, τί ἡμῶν δεήσεσθε χρήσασθαι, ἂν ξύμμαχοι ὑμῶν γενώμεθα, καὶ ὑμεῖς τί οἰοί τε ἔσσεσθε ἡμῖν ξυμπράξαι περὶ τῆς διόδου; 10. Οἱ δὲ εἶπον, ὅτι ἱκανοὶ ἐσμεν εἰς τὴν χώραν εἰσβάλλειν ἐκ τοῦ ἐπὶ θάτερα τὴν τῶν ὑμῶν τε καὶ ἡμῶν πολεμίων καὶ δεῦρο ὑμῶν πέμψαι ναῦς τε καὶ ἄνδρας, οἵτινες ὑμῶν ξυμμαχοῦνται τε καὶ τὴν ὁδὸν ἡγήσονται.

11. Ἐπὶ τούτοις πιστὰ δόντες καὶ λαβόντες ἔχοντο. Καὶ ἦγον τῇ ὑστεραίᾳ ἄγοντες τριακόσια πλοῖα μονόξυλα καὶ ἐν ἐκάστῳ τρεῖς ἄνδρας, ὧν οἱ μὲν δύο ἐκβάντες εἰς τάξιν ἔθεντο τὰ ὄπλα, ὁ δὲ εἰς ἔμμενε. 12. Καὶ οἱ μὲν λαβόντες τὰ πλοῖα ἀπέπλευσαν, οἱ δὲ μένοντες ἐξετάζαντο ὧδε. Ἔστησαν ἀνὰ ἑκατὸν μάλιστα τοῖον χοροὶ ἀντιστοιχοῦντες ἀλλήλοις, ἔχοντες γέρρα πάντες λευκῶν βοῶν δασέα, εἰκασμένα κιττοῦ πετάλῳ, ἐν δὲ τῇ δεξιᾷ παλτὸν ὡς ἐξάπηχυ, ἔμπροσθεν μὲν λόγχην ἔχον, ὀπισθεν δὲ τοῦ ξύλου σφαιροειδές. 13. Χιτωνίσκους δὲ ἐνδεδύκεσαν ὑπὲρ γονάτων, πάχος ὡς λινοῦ στρωματοδέσμου, ἐπὶ τῇ κεφαλῇ δὲ κράνη σκύτινα, οἷάπερ τὰ Παφλαγονικά, κρώβυλον ἔχοντα κατὰ μέσον, ἐγγύτατα τιαροειδῆ· εἶχον δὲ καὶ σαγάρεις σιδηρᾶς. 14. Ἐντεῦθεν ἐξῆρχε μὲν αὐτῶν εἰς, οἱ δὲ ἄλλοι πάντες ἐπορεύοντο ἄδοντες ἐν ῥυθμῷ, καὶ διελθόντες διὰ τῶν τάξεων καὶ διὰ τῶν ὅπλων τῶν Ἑλλήνων ἐπορεύοντο εὐθὺς πρὸς τοὺς πολεμίους ἐπὶ χωρίον, ὃ ἐδόκει ἐπιμαχώτατον εἶναι.

15. Ὡκειῖτο δὲ τοῦτο πρὸ τῆς πόλεως τῆς μητροπόλεως καλουμένης αὐτοῖς καὶ ἐχούσης τὸ ἀκρότατον τῶν Μοσσυνοίκων. Καὶ περὶ τούτου ὁ πόλεμος ἦν οἱ γὰρ ἀεὶ τοῦτ' ἔχοντες ἐδόκουν ἐγκρατεῖς εἶναι καὶ πάντων Μοσσυνοίκων, καὶ ἔφασαν τούτους οὐ δικαίως ἔχειν τοῦτο, ἀλλὰ κοινὸν ὃν καταλαβόντας πλεονεκτεῖν. 16. Εἵποντο δ' αὐτοῖς καὶ τῶν Ἑλλήνων τινές, οὐ ταχθέντες ὑπὸ τῶν στρατηγῶν, ἀλλὰ ὕρπαγῆς ἕνεκεν. Οἱ δὲ πολέμιοι προσιόντων τέως μὲν ἡσύχαζον· ἐπεὶ δ' ἐγγὺς ἐγένοντο τοῦ χωρίου, ἐκδραμόντες τρέπονται αὐτούς· καὶ ἀπέκτειναν συχνοὺς τῶν βαρβάρων καὶ τῶν ξυναναβάντων Ἑλλήνων τινὰς καὶ ἐδίωκον, μέχρις οὐ εἶδον τοὺς Ἑλληνας βοηθοῦντας· 17. εἴτα δὲ ἀποτραπόμενοι ὥχοντο, καὶ ἀποτεμόντες τὰς κεφαλὰς τῶν νεκρῶν ἐπεδείκνυσαν τοῖς Ἑλλησι καὶ τοῖς ἑαυτῶν πολεμίοις, καὶ ἅμα ἐχόρευον νόμφ τινὶ ᾄδοντες. 18. Οἱ δὲ Ἑλληνες μάλα ἠχθοντο, ἐπεὶ τοὺς τε πολεμίους ἐπεποιήκεσαν θρασυτέρους καὶ ὅτι οἱ ἐξελθόντες Ἑλληνες σὺν αὐτοῖς ἐπεφεύγεσαν μάλα ὄντες συχνοί· ὃ οὐπω πρόσθεν ἐπεποιήκεσαν ἐν τῇ στρατείᾳ. 19. Ξενοφῶν δὲ ξυγκαλέσας τοὺς Ἑλληνας εἶπεν· Ἄνδρες στρατιῶται, μηδὲν ἀθυμήσητε ἕνεκα τῶν γεγενημένων· ἴστε γάρ, ὅτι καὶ ἀγαθὸν οὐ μείον τοῦ κακοῦ γεγένηται. 20. Πρῶτον μὲν γὰρ ἐπίστασθε, ὅτι οἱ μέλλοντες ἡμῖν ἠγείσθαι τῷ ὄντι πολέμιοι εἰσιν οἷσπερ καὶ ἡμᾶς ἀνάγκη· ἔπειτα δὲ καὶ τῶν Ἑλλήνων οἱ ἀμελήσαντες τῆς σὺν ἡμῖν τάξεως καὶ ἱκανοὶ ἠγησάμενοι εἶναι ξὺν τοῖς βαρβάροις ταῦτα πράττειν, ἅπερ ξὺν ἡμῖν, δίκην δεδώκασιν ὥστε αὐθις ἦττον τῆς ἡμετέρας τάξεως ἀπολείφονται. 21. Ἄλλ' ὑμᾶς δεῖ παρασκευάζεσθαι, ὅπως καὶ τοῖς φίλοις οὖσι τῶν βαρβάρων δόξητε κρείττους αὐτῶν εἶναι καὶ τοῖς



πολεμίοις δηλώσητε, ὅτι οὐχ ὁμοίοις ἀνδράσι μαχοῦνται νῦν τε καὶ ὅτε τοῖς ἀτάκτοις ἐμάχοντο.

22. Ταύτην μὲν οὖν τὴν ἡμέραν οὕτω ἔμειναν· τῇ δ' ὑστεραίᾳ θύσαντες, ἐπεὶ ἐκαλλιερήσαντο, ἀριστήσαντες ὀρθίους τοὺς λόχους ποιησάμενοι καὶ τοὺς βαρβάρους ἐπὶ τὸ εὐώνυμον κατὰ ταῦτα ταξάμενοι ἐπορεύοντο, τοὺς τοξότας μεταξὺ τῶν λόχων [ὀρθίων] ἔχοντες, ὑπολειπομένους δὲ μικρὸν τοῦ στόματος τῶν ὀπλιτῶν. 23. Ἦσαν γὰρ τῶν πολεμίων οἱ εὗζωνοι κατατρέχοντες τοῖς λίθοις ἔβαλλον. Τούτους ἀνέστελλον οἱ τοξόται καὶ πελτασταί. Οἱ δ' ἄλλοι βάδην ἐπορεύοντο πρῶτον μὲν ἐπὶ τὸ χωρίον, ἀφ' οὗ τῇ προτεραίᾳ οἱ βάρβαροι ἐτρέφθησαν καὶ οἱ ξὺν αὐτοῖς· ἐνταῦθα γὰρ οἱ πολέμιοι ἦσαν ἀντιτεταγμένοι. 24. Τοὺς μὲν οὖν πελταστὰς ἐδέξαντο οἱ βάρβαροι καὶ ἐμάχοντο, ἐπειδὴ δὲ ἐγγὺς ἦσαν οἱ ὀπλίται, ἐτράποντο. Καὶ οἱ μὲν πελτασταὶ εὐθύς εἶποντο διώκοντες ἄνω πρὸς τὴν μητρόπολιν, οἱ δὲ ὀπλίται ἐν τάξει εἶποντο. 25. Ἐπεὶ δὲ ἄνω ἦσαν πρὸς ταῖς τῆς μητροπόλεως οἰκίαις, ἐνταῦθα δὴ οἱ πολέμιοι ὁμοῦ δὴ πάντες γενόμενοι ἐμάχοντο καὶ ἐξηκόντιζον τοῖς παλτοῖς· καὶ ἄλλα δόρατα ἔχοντες παχέα μακρά, ὅσα ἀνὴρ ἂν φέροι μόλις, τούτοις ἐπειρῶντο ἀμύνεσθαι ἐκ χειρός. 26. Ἐπεὶ δὲ οὐχ ὑφίεντο οἱ Ἕλληνες, ἀλλ' ὁμόσε ἐχώρουν, ἔφυγον οἱ βάρβαροι καὶ ἐντεῦθεν ἅπαντες λιπόντες τὸ χωρίον. Ὁ δὲ βασιλεὺς αὐτῶν ὃ ἐν τῷ μόνσσυνι τῷ ἐπ' ἄκρου ὠκοδομημένῳ, ὃν τρέφουσι πάντες κοινῇ αὐτοῦ μένοντα καὶ φυλάττοντα, οὐκ ἤθελεν ἐξελθεῖν, οὐδὲ οἱ ἐν τῷ πρότερον αἰρεθέντι χωρίῳ, ἀλλ' αὐτοῦ σὺν τοῖς μοσσύνοις κατεκαύθησαν. 27. Οἱ δὲ Ἕλληνες διαρπάζοντες τὰ χωρία εὗρισκον θησαυροὺς ἐν ταῖς οἰκίαις ἄρτων νενημένων· πατρίους, ὥς ἔφασαν οἱ Μοσσύνοικοι, τὸν δὲ νέον σῖτον·

ξὺν τῇ καλᾷ ἀποκείμενον ἦσαν δὲ ξεῖαι αἱ πλείσται.  
 28. Καὶ δελφίνων τεμάχη ἐν ἀμφορεύσιν ἠύρισκετο  
 τεταριχευμένα καὶ στέαρ ἐν τεύχεσι τῶν δελφίνων, ᾧ  
 ἐχρῶντο οἱ Μοσσύνοικοι, καθάπερ οἱ Ἕλληνες τῷ ἐλαίῳ.  
 29. κάρυα δὲ ἐπὶ τῶν ἀνωγαίων ἦν πολλὰ τὰ πλατέα,  
 οὐκ ἔχοντα διαφυὴν οὐδεμίαν· τούτῳ καὶ πλείστῳ σίτῳ  
 ἐχρῶντο ἔψοντες καὶ ἄρτους ὀπτῶντες. Οἶνος δὲ ἠεί-  
 ρετο, ὃς ἄκρατος μὲν ὄξυς ἐφαίνετο εἶναι ὑπὸ τῆς  
 αὐστηρότητος, κερασθεὶς δὲ εὐώδης τε καὶ ἡδύς.

30. Οἱ μὲν δὲ Ἕλληνες ἀριστήσαντες ἐνταῦθα  
 ἐπορεύοντο εἰς τὸ πρόσω, παραδόντες τὸ χωρίον τοῖς  
 ξυμμαχήσασιν τῶν Μοσσυνόικων. Ὅποσα δὲ καὶ ἄλλα  
 παρήσαν χωρία τῶν ξὺν τοῖς πολεμοῖς ὄντων, τὰ  
 εὐπροσοδῶτατα οἱ μὲν ἔλειπον, οἱ δὲ ἐκόντες προσεχώ-  
 ρουν. 31. Τὰ δὲ πλείστα τοιαῦτα ἦν τῶν χωρίων· ἀπεί-  
 χον αἱ πόλεις ἀπ' ἀλλήλων στάδια ὀγδοήκοντα, αἱ δὲ  
 πλείον, αἱ δὲ μείον· ἀναβοώντων δὲ ἀλλήλων ξυνήκουον  
 εἰς τὴν ἑτέραν ἐκ τῆς ἑτέρας πόλεως· οὕτως ὑψηλή τε  
 καὶ κοίλη ἡ χώρα ἦν. 32. Ἐπεὶ δὲ πορευόμενοι ἐν τοῖς  
 φίλοις ἦσαν, ἐπεδείκνυσαν αὐτοῖς παῖδας τῶν εὐδαιμόνων  
 σιτευτοῦς, τεθραμμένους καρύοις ἐφθοῖς, ἀπαλούς καὶ  
 λευκοὺς σφόδρα καὶ οὐ πολλοῦ δέοντας ἴσους τὸ πλάτος  
 καὶ τὸ μῆκος εἶναι, ποικίλους δὲ τὰ νῶτα καὶ τὰ ἔμπροσ-  
 θεν πάντα ἐστιγμένους ἀνθέμια. 33. Ἐξήτουν δὲ καὶ  
 ταῖς ἐταίραις αἷς ἦγον οἱ Ἕλληνες ἐμφανῶς ξυγγίνεσθαι·  
 νόμος γὰρ ἦν οὗτος σφίσι. 34. Λευκοὶ δὲ πάντες οἱ  
 ἄνδρες καὶ αἱ γυναῖκες. Τούτους ἔλεγον οἱ στρατευσά-  
 μενοι βαρβαρωτάτους διελθεῖν καὶ πλείστον τῶν Ἑλλη-  
 νικῶν νόμων κεχωρισμένους. Ἐν τε γὰρ ὄχλῳ ὄντες  
 ἐποιοῦν ἅπερ ἂν ἄνθρωποι ἐν ἐρημίᾳ ποιήσειαν, [ἄλλως  
 δὲ οὐκ ἂν τολμῶεν,] μόνοι τε ὄντες ὅμοια ἐπραττον ἅπερ

ἀν μετ' ἄλλων ὄντες· διελέγοντό τε αὐτοῖς καὶ ἐγέλων ἐφ' ἑαυτοῖς καὶ ὠρχοῦντο ἐφιστάμενοι, ὅπου τύχοιεν, ἅσπερ ἄλλοις ἐπιδεικνύμενοι.

## CAPUT V.

1. Διὰ ταύτης τῆς χώρας οἱ Ἕλληνες, διὰ τε τῆς πολεμίας καὶ τῆς φιλίας, ἐπορεύθησαν ὁκτῶ σταθμοῖς καὶ ἀφικνούνται εἰς Χάλυβας. Οὗτοι ὀλίγοι ἦσαν καὶ ὑπήκοοι τῶν Μοσσυνοίκων, καὶ ὁ βίος ἦν τοῖς πλείστοις αὐτῶν ἀπὸ σιδηρείας. 2. Ἐντεῦθεν ἀφικνούνται εἰς Τιβαρηνούς. Ἡ δὲ τῶν Τιβαρηνῶν χώρα πολὺ ἦν πεδινωτέρα καὶ χωρία εἶχεν ἐπὶ θαλάττῃ ἥττον ἐρυμνά. Καὶ οἱ στρατηγοὶ ἔχρηζον πρὸς τὰ χωρία προσβάλλειν καὶ τὴν στρατιὰν ὀνηθῆναί τι· καὶ τὰ ξένια, ἃ ἦκε παρὰ Τιβαρηνῶν, οὐκ ἐδέχοντο, ἀλλ' ἐπίμειναι κελεύσαντες, ἕστε βουλεύσαιντο, ἐθύοντο. 3. Καὶ πολλὰ καταθυσάντων, τέλος ἀπεδείξαντο οἱ μάντιες πάντες γνώμην, ὅτι οὐδαμῇ προσιοῦντο οἱ θεοὶ τὸν πόλεμον. Ἐντεῦθεν δὴ τὰ ξένια ἐδέξαντο, καὶ ὥς διὰ φιλίας πορευόμενοι δύο ἡμέρας ἀφίκοντο εἰς Κοτύωρα, πόλιν Ἑλληνίδα, Σινωπέων ἀποίκους, οἰκούντας ἐν τῇ Τιβαρηνῶν χώρᾳ.

4. Μέχρις ἐνταῦθα ἐπέξευσεν ἡ στρατιὰ. Πλήθος τῆς καταβάσεως τῆς ὁδοῦ ἀπὸ τῆς ἐν Βαβυλῶνι μάχης ἄχρι εἰς Κοτύωρα σταθμοὶ ἑκατὸν εἴκοσι δύο, παρασάγγαι ἑξακόσιοι καὶ εἴκοσι, στάδιοι μύριοι καὶ ὀκτακισχίλιοι καὶ ἑξακόσιοι, χρόνου πλήθος ὁκτῶ μῆνες. 5. Ἐνταῦθα ἔμειναν ἡμέρας τεσσαράκοντα πέντε. Ἐν δὲ ταύταις πρῶτον μὲν τοῖς θεοῖς ἔθυσαν καὶ πομπὰς ἐποίησαν κατὰ ἔθνος ἕκαστοι τῶν Ἑλλήνων καὶ ἀγῶνας

γυμνικούς. 6. Τὰ δ' ἐπιτήδεια ἐλάμβανον τὰ μὲν ἐκ τῆς Παφλαγονίας, τὰ δ' ἐκ τῶν χωρίων τῶν Κοτυωριτῶν· οὐ γὰρ παρεῖχον ἀγοράν, οὐδ' εἰς τὸ τεῖχος τοὺς ἀσθενοῦντας ἐδέχοντο.

7. Ἐν τούτῳ ἔρχονται ἐκ Σινώπης πρέσβεις, φοβούμενοι περὶ τῶν Κοτυωριτῶν τῆς τε πόλεως· ἦν γὰρ ἐκείνων καὶ φόρον ἐκείνοις ἔφερον, καὶ περὶ τῆς χώρας, ὅτι ἤκουον θρουμένην. Καὶ ἐλθόντες εἰς τὸ στρατόπεδον ἔλεγον· προηγόρει δὲ Ἐκατώνυμος δεινὸς νομιζόμενος εἶναι λέγειν· 8. Ἐπεμψεν ἡμᾶς, ὧ ἄνδρες στρατιῶται, ἡ τῶν Σινωπέων πόλις ἐπαυνέσοντάς τε ὑμᾶς, ὅτι νικᾶτε Ἕλληνες ὄντες βαρβάρους, ἔπειτα δὲ καὶ ξυνησθησόμενους, ὅτι διὰ πολλῶν τε καὶ δεινῶν, ὡς ἡμεῖς ἠκούσαμεν, πραγμάτων σεσωσμένοι πάρεστε. 9. Ἀξιούμεν δὲ Ἕλληνες ὄντες καὶ αὐτοὶ ὑφ' ὑμῶν ὄντων Ἑλλήνων ἀγαθὸν μὲν τι πάσχειν, κακὸν δὲ μηδέν· οὐδὲ γὰρ ἡμεῖς ὑμῖς οὐδὲν πώποτε ὑπήρξαμεν κακῶς ποιοῦντες. 10. Κοτυωρίται δὲ οὗτοί εἰσι μὲν ἡμέτεροι ἄποικοι, καὶ τὴν χώραν ἡμεῖς αὐτοῖς ταύτην παραδεδώκαμεν βαρβάρους ἀφελόμενοι· διὸ καὶ δασμὸν ἡμῖν φέρουσιν οὗτοι τεταγμένον καὶ Κερασούντιοι καὶ Τραπεζούντιοι ὡσαύτως· ὥστε, ὅ τι ἂν τούτους κακὸν ποιήσητε, ἡ Σινωπέων πόλις νομίζει πάσχειν. 11. Νῦν δὲ ἀκούομεν ὑμᾶς εἰς τε τὴν πόλιν βία παρεληλυθότας ἐνίοις σκηνοῦν ἐν ταῖς οἰκίαις καὶ ἐκ τῶν χωρίων βία λαμβάνειν, ὧν ἂν δέσηθε, οὐ πείθοντας. 12. Ταῦτ' οὖν οὐκ ἀξιούμεν· εἰ δὲ ταῦτα ποιήσετε, ἀνάγκη ἡμῖν καὶ Κορύλαν καὶ Παφλαγόνας καὶ ἄλλον, ὅντινα ἂν δυνάμεθα, φίλον ποιεῖσθαι.

13. Πρὸς ταῦτα ἀναστὰς Ξενοφῶν ὑπὲρ τῶν στρατιωτῶν εἶπεν· Ἡμεῖς δέ, ὧ ἄνδρες Σινωπεῖς, ἤκομεν ἀγαπῶντες, ὅτι τὰ σώματα διεσώσάμεθα καὶ τὰ ὄπλα· οὐ γὰρ

ἦν δυνατόν ἅμα τε χρήματα ἄγειν καὶ φέρειν. καὶ τοῖς πολεμίοις μάχεσθαι. 14. Καὶ νῦν ἐπεὶ εἰς τὰς Ἑλληνίδας πόλεις ἤλθομεν, ἐν Τραπεζοῦντι μέν, παρεῖχον γὰρ ἡμῖν ἀγοράν, ὠνούμενοι εἶχομεν τὰ ἐπιτήδεια, καὶ ἀνθρώπων ἐτίμησαν ἡμᾶς καὶ ξένια ἔδωκαν τῇ στρατιᾷ, ἀντιμῶμεν αὐτούς· καὶ εἴ τις αὐτοῖς φίλος ἦν τῶν βαρβάρων, τούτων ἀπειχόμεθα· τοὺς δὲ πολεμίους αὐτῶν, ἐφ' οὓς αὐτοὶ ἠγοῦντο, κακῶς ἐποιοῦμεν, ὅσον ἐδυνάμεθα. 15. Ἐρωτᾶτε δὲ αὐτούς, ὁποίων τινῶν ἡμῶν ἔτυχον· πάρεισι γὰρ ἐνθάδε, οὓς ἡμῖν ἡγεμόνας διὰ φιλίαν ἢ πόλιν ξυνέπεμψεν. 16. Ὅποι δ' ἂν ἐλθόντες ἀγοράν μὴ ἔχωμεν, ἂν τε εἰς βάρβαρον γῆν, ἂν τε εἰς Ἑλληνίδα, οὐχ ὕβρει, ἀλλ' ἀνάγκῃ λαμβάνομεν τὰ ἐπιτήδεια. 17. Καὶ Καρδούχους καὶ Ταόχους καὶ Χαλδαίους, καί περ βασιλέως οὐχ ὑπηκόους ὄντας, ὅμως, καὶ μάλα φοβεροὺς ὄντας, πολεμίους ἐκτησάμεθα διὰ τὸ ἀνάγκην εἶναι λαμβάνειν τὰ ἐπιτήδεια, ἐπεὶ ἀγοράν οὐ παρεῖχον. 18. Μάκρωνας δέ, καί περ βαρβάρους ὄντας, ἐπεὶ ἀγοράν, οἷαν ἐδύναντο, παρεῖχον, φίλους τε ἐνομίζομεν εἶναι καὶ βία οὐδὲν ἐλαμβάνομεν τῶν ἐκείνων. 19. Κοτυωρίτας δὲ οὓς ὑμετέρους φατέ εἶναι, εἴ τι αὐτῶν εἰλήφαμεν, αὐτοὶ αἴτιοί εἰσιν· οὐ γὰρ ὥς φίλοι προσεφέροντο ἡμῖν, ἀλλὰ κλείσαντες τὰς πύλας οὔτε εἴσω ἐδέχοντο, οὔτε ἔξω ἀγοράν ἔπεμπον· ἡτιῶντο δὲ τὸν παρ' ὑμῶν ἄρμωσθην τούτων αἴτιον εἶναι. 20. Ὁ δὲ λέγεις βία παρελθόντας σκηνοῦν, ἡμεῖς ἡξιούμεεν τοὺς κάμνοντας εἰς τὰς στέγας δέξασθαι· ἐπεὶ δὲ οὐκ ἀνέφρων τὰς πύλας, ἣ ἡμῶς ἐδέχετο αὐτὸ τὸ χωρίον, ταύτην εἰσελθόντες ἄλλο μὲν οὐδὲν βίαιον ἐποιήσαμεν, σκηνοῦσι δ' ἐν ταῖς στέγαις οἱ κάμνοντες τὰ ἑαυτῶν δαπανῶντες· καὶ τὰς πύλας φρουροῦμεν, ὅπως μὴ ἐπὶ τῷ ὑμετέρῳ ἄρμωσθῇ ὥσιν οἱ κάμνοντες ἡμῶν, ἀλλ' ἐφ' ἡμῖν ἢ κομί-

σασθαι, ὅταν βουλώμεθα. 21. Οἱ δ' ἄλλοι, ὡς ὀράτε, σκηνοῦμεν ὑπαίθριοι ἐν τῇ τάξει, παρεσκευασμένοι, ἂν μὲν τις εὖ ποιῇ, ἀντενποιεῖν, ἂν δὲ κακῶς, ἀλέξασθαι. 22. Ἄ δὲ ἠπείλησας, ὡς, ἦν ὑμῖν δοκῇ, Κορύλαν καὶ Παφλαγόνας ξυμμάχους ποιήσεσθε ἐφ' ἡμᾶς, ἡμεῖς δέ, ἦν μὲν ἀνάγκη ἦ, πολεμήσομεν καὶ ἀμφοτέροις· ἥδη γὰρ καὶ ἄλλοις πολλαπλασίοις ὑμῶν ἐπολεμήσαμεν· ἂν δὲ δοκῇ ἡμῖν, καὶ φίλον ποιησόμε[θα] τὸν Παφλαγόνα. 23. Ἀκούομεν δὲ αὐτὸν καὶ ἐπιθυμῶν τῆς ὑμετέρας πόλεως καὶ χωρίων τῶν ἐπιθαλαττίων. Πειρασόμεθα οὖν ξυμπράττοντες αὐτῷ ὣν ἐπιθυμεῖ φίλοι γίνεσθαι.

24. Ἐκ τούτου μάλα μὲν δῆλοι ἦσαν οἱ ξυμπρέσβεις τῷ Ἐκατωνύμφῃ χαλεπαίνοντες τοῖς εἰρημένοις, παρελθὼν δ' αὐτῶν ἄλλος εἶπεν, ὅτι οὐ πόλεμον ποιησόμενοι ἦκοιεν, ἀλλὰ ἐπιδείζοντες, ὅτι φίλοι εἰσὶ. Καὶ ξενίοις, ἦν μὲν ἔλθητε πρὸς τὴν Σινωπέων πόλιν, ἐκεῖ δεξόμεθα, νῦν δὲ τοὺς ἐνθάδε κελεύσομεν διδόναι ἃ δύνανται· ὁρῶμεν γὰρ πάντα ἀληθῆ ὄντα, ἃ λέγετε. 25. Ἐκ τούτου ξενία τε ἔπεμπον οἱ Κοτυωρίται, καὶ οἱ στρατηγοὶ τῶν Ἑλλήνων ἐξένιζον τοὺς Σινωπέων πρέσβεις, καὶ πρὸς ἀλλήλους πολλά τε καὶ φιλικὰ διελέγοντο τά τε ἄλλα καὶ περὶ τῆς λοιπῆς πορείας ἀνεπυνθάνοντο καὶ ὧν ἑκάτεροι ἐδέοντο.

## CAPUT VI.

1. Ταύτῃ μὲν τῇ ἡμέρᾳ τοῦτο τὸ τέλος ἐγένετο. Τῇ δὲ ὑστεραίᾳ ξυνέλεξαν οἱ στρατηγοὶ τοὺς στρατιώτας· καὶ ἐδόκει αὐτοῖς περὶ τῆς λοιπῆς πορείας παρακαλέσαντας τοὺς Σινωπέας βουλευέσθαι. Εἴτε γὰρ περὶ

ἦν δυνατόν ἅμα τε χρήματα ἄγειν καὶ φέρειν. καὶ τοῖς πολεμίους μάχεσθαι. 14. Καὶ νῦν ἐπεὶ εἰς τὰς Ἑλληνίδας πόλεις ἤλθομεν, ἐν Τραπεζοῦντι μὲν, παρεῖχον γὰρ ἡμῖν ἀγοράν, ὠνούμενοι εἶχομεν τὰ ἐπιτήδεια, καὶ ἀνθ' ὧν ἐτίμησαν ἡμᾶς καὶ ξένια ἔδωκαν τῇ στρατιᾷ, ἀντετιμῶμεν αὐτούς· καὶ εἴ τις αὐτοῖς φίλος ἦν τῶν βαρβάρων, τούτων ἀπειχόμεθα· τοὺς δὲ πολεμίους αὐτῶν, ἐφ' οὓς αὐτοὶ ἠγοῶντο, κακῶς ἐποιούμεν, ὅσον ἐδυνάμεθα. 15. Ἐρωτᾶτε δὲ αὐτούς, ὁποίων τινῶν ἡμῶν ἔτυχον· πάρεισι γὰρ ἐνθάδε, οὓς ἡμῖν ἠγεμόνας διὰ φιλίαν ἢ πόλιν ξυνέπεμψεν. 16. Ὅποι δ' ἂν ἐλθόντες ἀγοράν μὴ ἔχωμεν, ἂν τε εἰς βάρβαρον γῆν, ἂν τε εἰς Ἑλληνίδα, οὐχ ὕβρει, ἀλλ' ἀνάγκῃ λαμβάνομεν τὰ ἐπιτήδεια. 17. Καὶ Καρδούχους καὶ Ταόχους καὶ Χαλδαίους, καίπερ βασιλέως οὐχ ὑπηκόους ὄντας, ὅμως, καὶ μάλα φοβεροὺς ὄντας, πολεμίους ἐκτησάμεθα διὰ τὸ ἀνάγκην εἶναι λαμβάνειν τὰ ἐπιτήδεια, ἐπεὶ ἀγοράν οὐ παρεῖχον. 18. Μάκρωνας δέ, καίπερ βαρβάρους ὄντας, ἐπεὶ ἀγοράν, οἷαν ἐδύναντο, παρεῖχον, φίλους τε ἐνομίζομεν εἶναι καὶ βία οὐδὲν ἐλαμβάνομεν τῶν ἐκείνων. 19. Κοτυωρίτας δὲ οὓς ὑμετέρους φατὲ εἶναι, εἴ τι αὐτῶν εἰλήφαμεν, αὐτοὶ αἴτιοί εἰσιν· οὐ γὰρ ὡς φίλοι προσεφέροντο ἡμῖν, ἀλλὰ κλείσαντες τὰς πύλας οὔτε εἴσω ἐδέχοντο, οὔτε ἔξω ἀγοράν. ἔπεμπον· ἡτιῶντο δὲ τὸν παρ' ὑμῶν ἁρμοστήν τούτων αἴτιον εἶναι. 20. Ὁ δὲ λέγεις βία παρελθόντας σκηνοῦν, ἡμεῖς ἡξιοῦμεν τοὺς κάμνοντας εἰς τὰς στέγας δέξασθαι· ἐπεὶ δὲ οὐκ ἀνέφρων τὰς πύλας, ἢ ἡμᾶς ἐδέχετο αὐτὸ τὸ χωρίον, ταύτῃ εἰσελθόντες ἄλλο μὲν οὐδὲν βίαιον ἐποιήσαμεν, σκηνοῦσι δ' ἐν ταῖς στέγαις οἱ κάμνοντες τὰ ἑαυτῶν δαπανῶντες· καὶ τὰς πύλας φρουροῦμεν, ὅπως μὴ ἐπὶ τῷ ὑμετέρῳ ἁρμοστῇ ὥσιν οἱ κάμνοντες ἡμῶν, ἀλλ' ἐφ' ἡμῖν ἢ κομί-

σασθαι, ὅταν βουλώμεθα. 21. Οἱ δ' ἄλλοι, ὡς ὄρατε, σκηνοῦμεν ὑπαίθριοι ἐν τῇ τάξει, παρεσκευασμένοι, ἂν μὲν τις εὖ ποιῇ, ἀντενποιεῖν, ἂν δὲ κακῶς, ἀλέξασθαι. 22. Ἄ δὲ ἠπειλήσας, ὡς, ἣν ὑμῖν δοκῇ, Κορύλλαν καὶ Παφλαγόνας ξυμμάχους ποιήσεσθε ἐφ' ἡμᾶς, ἡμεῖς δέ, ἣν μὲν ἀνάγκη ᾖ, πολεμήσομεν καὶ ἀμφοτέροις· ἤδη γὰρ καὶ ἄλλοις πολλαπλασίοις ὑμῶν ἐπολεμήσαμεν· ἂν δὲ δοκῇ ἡμῖν, καὶ φίλον ποιησόμε[θα] τὸν Παφλαγόνα. 23. Ἀκούομεν δὲ αὐτὸν καὶ ἐπιθυμῶν τῆς ὑμετέρας πόλεως καὶ χωρίων τῶν ἐπιθαλαττίων. Πειρασόμεθα οὖν ξυμπράττοντες αὐτῷ ὣν ἐπιθυμεῖ φίλοι γίνεσθαι.

24. Ἐκ τούτου μάλα μὲν δῆλοι ἦσαν οἱ ξυμπρέσβεις τῷ Ἐκατωνύμφῃ χαλεπαίνοντες τοῖς εἰρημένοις, παρελθὼν δ' αὐτῶν ἄλλος εἶπεν, ὅτι οὐ πόλεμον ποιησόμενοι ἤκοιεν, ἀλλὰ ἐπιδείξοντες, ὅτι φίλοι εἰσὶ. Καὶ ξενίοις, ἣν μὲν ἔλθῃτε πρὸς τὴν Σινωπέων πόλιν, ἐκεῖ δεξόμεθα, νῦν δὲ τοὺς ἐνθάδε κελεύσομεν διδόναι ἃ δύνανται· ὁρῶμεν γὰρ πάντα ἀληθῆ ὄντα, ἃ λέγετε. 25. Ἐκ τούτου ξενία τε ἔπεμπον οἱ Κοτυωρίται, καὶ οἱ στρατηγοὶ τῶν Ἑλλήνων ἐξένιζον τοὺς Σινωπέων πρέσβεις, καὶ πρὸς ἀλλήλους πολλά τε καὶ φιλικὰ διελέγοντο τά τε ἄλλα καὶ περὶ τῆς λοιπῆς πορείας ἀνεπυνθάνοντο καὶ ὧν ἐκότεροι ἐδέοντο.

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## CAPUT VI.

1. Ταύτῃ μὲν τῇ ἡμέρᾳ τοῦτο τὸ τέλος ἐγένετο. Τῇ δὲ ὑστεραίᾳ ξυνέλεξαν οἱ στρατηγοὶ τοὺς στρατιώτας· καὶ ἐδόκει αὐτοῖς περὶ τῆς λοιπῆς πορείας παρακαλέσαντας τοὺς Σινωπέας βουλευέσθαι. Εἴτε γὰρ περὶ



δέοι πορεύεσθαι, χρήσιμοι ἂν ἐδόκουν εἶναι οἱ Σινωπεῖς· ἔμπειροι γὰρ ἦσαν τῆς Παφλαγονίας· εἴτε κατὰ θάλατταν, προσδεῖν ἐδόκει Σινωπέων· μόνοι γὰρ ἂν ἐδόκουν ἱκανοὶ εἶναι πλοῖα παρασχεῖν ἀρκούντα τῇ στρατιᾷ. 2. Καλέσαντες οὖν τοὺς πρέσβεις ξυμβουλευόντο καὶ ἠξίουσαν Ἑλληνας ὄντας Ἑλλήσι τούτῳ πρῶτον καλῶς δέχεσθαι τῷ εὖνους τε εἶναι καὶ τὰ κάλλιστα ξυμβουλεύειν.

3. Ἀναστὰς δὲ Ἑκατόνυμος πρῶτον μὲν ἀπελογήσατο περὶ οὗ εἶπεν, ὡς τὸν Παφλαγῶνα φίλον ποιήσονται, ὅτι οὐχ ὡς τοῖς Ἑλλήσι πολεμησόντων σφῶν εἴποι, ἀλλ' ὅτι, ἐξὸν τοῖς βαρβάροις φίλους εἶναι, τοὺς Ἑλληνας αἰρήσονται. Ἐπεὶ δὲ ξυμβουλεύειν ἐκέλευον, ἐπευξάμενος ὧδε εἶπεν· 4. Εἰ μὲν ξυμβουλεύοιμι, ἃ βέλτιστά μοι δοκεῖ εἶναι, πολλὰ μοι ἀγαθὰ γένοιτο· εἰ δὲ μή, τάναντία. Αὕτη γὰρ ἡ ἱερὰ ξυμβουλὴ λεγομένη εἶναι δοκεῖ μοι παρεῖναι· νῦν μὲν γὰρ δὴ, ἂν μὲν εὖ ξυμβουλεύσας φανῶ, πολλοὶ ἔσονται οἱ ἐπαινοῦντές με, ἂν δὲ κακῶς, πολλοὶ ἔσεσθε οἱ καταρώμενοι. 5. Πράγματα μὲν οὖν οἶδ' ὅτι πολὺ πλείω ἔξομεν, ἐὰν κατὰ θάλατταν κομίζησθε· ἡμᾶς γὰρ δεήσει τὰ πλοῖα πορίζειν· ἣν δὲ κατὰ γῆν στέλλησθε, ὑμᾶς δεήσει τοὺς μαχομένους εἶναι. 6. Ὅμως δὲ λεκτέα ἃ γινώσκω· ἔμπειρος γὰρ εἰμι καὶ τῆς χώρας τῶν Παφλαγόνων καὶ τῆς δυνάμεως. Ἐχει γὰρ ἀμφότερα, καὶ πεδία κάλλιστα καὶ ὄρη ὑψηλότατα. 7. Καὶ πρῶτον μὲν οἶδα εὐθύς, ἢ τὴν εἰσβολὴν ἀνάγκη ποιεῖσθαι· οὐ γὰρ ἔστιν ἄλλη, ἢ ἢ τὰ κέρατα τοῦ ὄρους τῆς ὁδοῦ καθ' ἑκάτερά ἐστιν ὑψηλά, ἃ κρατεῖν κατέχοντες καὶ πάνυ ὀλίγοι δύναιντ' ἂν· τούτων δὲ κατεχομένων οὐδ' ἂν οἱ πάντες ἄνθρωποι δύναιντ' ἂν διελθεῖν. Ταῦτα δὲ καὶ δείξαμι ἂν, εἰ μοί

τινα βούλοισθε ξυμπέμψαι. 8. Ἐπειτα δὲ οἶδα καὶ πεδία ὄντα καὶ ἵππειαν, ἣν αὐτοὶ οἱ βάρβαροι νομίζουσι κρείττω εἶναι ἀπάσης τῆς βασιλέως ἵππειας. Καὶ νῦν οὗτοι οὐ παρεγένοντο βασιλεῖ καλοῦντι, ἀλλὰ μείζον φρονεῖ ὁ ἄρχων αὐτῶν. 9. Εἰ δὲ καὶ δυνηθεῖτε τὰ τε ὄρη κλέψαι ἢ φθάσαι λαβόντες καὶ ἐν τῷ πεδίῳ κρατῆσαι μαχόμενοι τοὺς τε ἵππείας τούτων καὶ πεζῶν μυριάδας πλείον ἢ δώδεκα, ἥξετε ἐπὶ τοὺς ποταμούς, πρῶτον μὲν τὸν θερμώδοντα εὖρος τριῶν πλέθρων, ὃν χαλεπὸν οἶμαι διαβαίνειν ἄλλως τε καὶ πολεμίων πολλῶν ἔμπροσθεν ὄντων, πολλῶν δὲ ὀπισθεν ἐπομένων· δεῦτερον δ' Ἴριν, τρίπλεθρον ὡσαύτως· τρίτον δ' Ἄλυν, οὐ μείον δυοῖν σταδίοις, ὃν οὐκ ἂν δύναισθε ἄνευ πλοίων διαβῆναι· πλοῖα δὲ τίς ἔσται ὁ παρέχων; Ὡς δ' αὐτῶς καὶ ὁ Παρθένιος ἄβατος· ἐφ' ὃν ἔλθοιτε ἄν, εἰ τὸν Ἄλυν διαβαίητε. 10. Ἐγὼ μὲν οὖν οὐ χαλεπὴν ὑμῖν εἶναι νομίζω τὴν πορείαν, ἀλλὰ παντάπασιν ἀδύνατον. Ἄν δὲ πλέητε, ἔστιν ἐνθένδε μὲν εἰς Σινώπην παραπλεῦσαι, ἐκ Σινώπης εἰς Ἡράκλειαν· ἐξ Ἡρακλείας δὲ οὔτε πεζῇ οὔτε κατὰ θάλατταν ἀπορία· πολλὰ γὰρ καὶ πλοῖά ἐστιν ἐν Ἡρακλείᾳ.

11. Ἐπεὶ δὲ ταῦτα ἔλεξεν, οἱ μὲν ὑπώπτεον φιλίας ἕνεκα τῆς Κορύλα λέγειν· καὶ γὰρ ἦν πρόξενος αὐτῷ· οἱ δὲ καὶ ὥς δῶρα ληψόμενον διὰ τὴν ξυμβουλὴν ταύτην· οἱ δὲ ὑπώπτεον καὶ τούτου ἕνεκα λέγειν, ὥς μὴ πεζῇ ἰόντες τὴν Σινωπέων τι χώραν κακὸν ἐργάζονται. Οἱ δ' οὖν Ἕλληνες ἐψηφίσαντο κατὰ θάλατταν τὴν πορείαν ποιεῖσθαι. 12. Μετὰ ταῦτα Ξενοφῶν εἶπεν· ὦ Σινωπεῖς, οἱ μὲν ἄνδρες ἥρηνται πορείαν, ἣν ὑμεῖς ξυμβουλεύετε· οὕτω δ' ἔχει· εἰ μὲν πλοῖα ἔσεσθαι μέλλει ἱκανὰ ἀριθμῷ, ὥς ἓνα μὴ καταλείπεσθαι ἐνθάδε, ἡμεῖς

ἀν πλείοιμεν· εἰ δὲ μέλλοιμεν οἱ μὲν καταλείφεσθαι, οἱ δὲ πλεύσεσθαι, οὐκ ἂν ἐμβαίημεν εἰς τὰ πλοῖα. 13. Γυγνώσκομεν γάρ, ὅτι, ὅπου μὲν ἂν κρατῶμεν, δυναίμεθ' ἂν καὶ σώζεσθαι καὶ τὰ ἐπιτήδεια ἔχειν· εἰ δέ που ἥττους τῶν πολεμίων ληφθῆσόμεθα, εὐδηλον δὴ, ὅτι ἐν ἀνδραπόδων χώρα ἐσόμεθα. 14. Ἀκούσαντες ταῦτα οἱ πρέσβεις ἐκέλευον πέμπειν πρέσβεις. Καὶ πέμπουσι Καλλίμαχον Ἀρκάδα καὶ Ἀρίστωνα Ἀθηναῖον καὶ Σαμόλαν Ἀχαιοῖν. Καὶ οἱ μὲν ὄχοντο.

15. Ἐν δὲ τούτῳ τῷ χρόνῳ Ξενοφῶντι, ὀρῶντι μὲν ὀπλίτας πολλοὺς τῶν Ἑλλήνων, ὀρῶντι δὲ καὶ πελταστὰς πολλοὺς καὶ τοξότας καὶ σφενδονήτας καὶ ἵππεις δὲ καὶ μάλα ἤδη διὰ τὴν τριβὴν ἱκανοὺς, ἕντας δ' ἐν τῷ Πόντῳ, ἔνθα οὐκ ἂν ἀπ' ὀλίγων χρημάτων τοσαύτη δύναμις παρεσκευάσθη, καλὸν αὐτῷ ἔδοκε εἶναι χώραν καὶ δύναμιν τῇ Ἑλλάδι προσκτήσασθαι πόλιν κατοικήσαντας. 16. Καὶ γενέσθαι ἂν αὐτῷ ἔδοκε μεγάλη, καταλογιζομένῳ τό τε αὐτῶν πλήθος καὶ τοὺς περιοικούντας τὸν Πόντον. Καὶ ἐπὶ τούτοις ἐθύετο, πρὶν τινι εἰπεῖν τῶν στρατιωτῶν, Σιλανὸν καλέσας, τὸν Κύρου μάντιν γενόμενον, τὸν Ἀμβρακιώτην. 17. Ὁ δὲ Σιλανὸς δεδιώς, μὴ γένηται ταῦτα καὶ καταμείνῃ που ἡ στρατιὰ, ἐκφέρει εἰς τὸ στράτευμα λόγον, ὅτι Ξενοφῶν βούλεται καταμείναι τὴν στρατιάν καὶ πόλιν οἰκίσαι καὶ ἑαυτῷ ὄνομα καὶ δύναμιν περιποιήσασθαι. 18. Αὐτὸς δ' ὁ Σιλανὸς ἐβούλετο ὃ τι τάχιστα εἰς τὴν Ἑλλάδα ἀφικέσθαι· οὓς γὰρ παρὰ Κύρου ἔλαβε τρισχιλίους δαρεικούς, ὅτε τὰς δέκα ἡμέρας ἤλῃθυσεν θυόμενος Κύρῳ, διεσεσώκει. 19. Τῶν δὲ στρατιωτῶν, ἐπεὶ ἤκουσαν, τοῖς μὲν ἔδοκε βέλτιστον εἶναι καταμείναι, τοῖς δὲ πολλοῖς οὐ. Τιμασίῳν δὲ [ὁ Δαρδανεύς] καὶ Θωάραξ ὁ Βοιάτιος πρὸς ἐμπόρους μὲν τινας

παρόντας τῶν Ἡρακλεωτῶν καὶ Σινωπέων λέγουσιν, ὅτι, εἰ μὴ ἐξευποριοῦσι τῇ στρατιᾷ μισθόν, ὥστε ἔχειν τὰ ἐπιτήδεια ἐκπλέοντας, ὅτι κινδυνεύσει μείναι τοσαύτη δύναμις ἐν τῷ Πόντῳ· βουλευέται γὰρ Ξενοφῶν καὶ ἡμᾶς παρακαλεῖ, ἐπειδὴν ἔλθῃ τὰ πλοῖα, τότε εἰπεῖν ἐξαίφνης τῇ στρατιᾷ· 20. Ἄνδρες, νῦν μὲν ὁρῶμεν ἡμᾶς ἀπόρους ὄντας καὶ ἐν τῷ ἀπόπλῳ ἔχειν τὰ ἐπιτήδεια καὶ [ὥς] οἴκαδε ἀπελθόντας ὀνῆσαι τι τοὺς οἴκοι· εἰ δὲ βούλεσθε τῆς κύκλῳ χώρας περὶ τὸν Πόντον οἰκουμένης ἐκλεξάμενοι, ὅπῃ ἂν βούλησθε, κατασχεῖν καὶ τὸν μὲν ἐθέλοντα ἀπιέναι οἴκαδε, τὸν δὲ ἐθέλοντα μένειν αὐτοῦ, πλοῖα δ' ὑμῖν πάρεστιν, ὥστε, ὅπῃ ἂν βούλησθε, ἐξαίφνης ἂν ἐπιπέσσετε. 21. Ἀκούσαντες ταῦτα οἱ ἔμποροι ἀπήγγελλον ταῖς πόλεσι· ξυνέπεμψε δ' αὐτοῖς Τιμασίῳν Δαρδανεὺς Εὐρύμαχόν τε τὸν Δαρδανέα καὶ Θώρακα τὸν Βοιώτιον τὰ αὐτὰ ταῦτα ἐρῶντας. Σινωπεῖς δὲ καὶ Ἡρακλεῶται ταῦτα ἀκούσαντες πέμπουσι πρὸς τὸν Τιμασίῳνα καὶ κελεύουσι προστατεῦσαι λαβόντα χρήματα, ὅπως ἐκπλεύσῃ ἡ στρατιὰ. 22. Ὁ δὲ ἄσμενος ἀκούσας ἐν ξυλλόγῳ τῶν στρατιωτῶν ὄντων λέγει τάδε· Οὐ δεῖ προσέχειν μονῇ, ὦ ἄνδρες, οὐδὲ τῆς Ἑλλάδος οὐδὲν περὶ πλείονος ποιεῖσθαι. Ἀκούω δὲ τινας θύεσθαι ἐπὶ τούτῳ οὐδ' ὑμῖν λέγοντας. 23. Ἵπισχνοῦμαι δὲ ὑμῖν, ἂν ἐκπλέητε, ἀπὸ νουμηνίας μισθοφορὰν παρέξειν Κυζικηνὸν ἐκάστῳ τοῦ μηνός· καὶ ἄξω ὑμᾶς εἰς τὴν Τρωάδα, ἔνθεν καὶ εἰμι φυγὰς, καὶ ὑπάρξει ὑμῖν ἡ ἐμὴ πόλις· ἐκόντες γὰρ με δέχονται. 24. Ἠγήσομαι δὲ αὐτὸς ἐγώ, ἔνθεν πολλὰ χρήματα λήψεσθε. Ἐμπειρος δὲ εἰμι τῆς Αἰολίδος καὶ τῆς Φρυγίας καὶ τῆς Τρωάδος καὶ τῆς Φαρναβάζου ἀρχῆς πάσης, τὰ μὲν διὰ τὸ ἐκείθεν εἶναι, τὰ δὲ διὰ τὸ ξυνεστρατεῦσθαι ἐν αὐτῇ σὺν Κλεάρχῳ τε καὶ

Δερκυλλίδα. 25. Ἀναστὰς δ' αὖθις Θώραξ ὁ Βοιωτίος, ὃς αἰεὶ περὶ στρατηγίας Ξενοφῶντι ἐμάχετο, ἔφη, εἰ ἐξέλθοιεν ἐκ τοῦ Πόντου, ἔσεσθαι αὐτοῖς Χερρόνησον χώραν καλὴν καὶ εὐδαίμονα, ὥστε τῷ βουλομένῳ ἐνοικεῖν, τῷ δὲ μὴ βουλομένῳ ἀπιέναι οἴκαδε· γελοῖον δ' εἶναι ἐν τῇ Ἑλλάδι οὔσης χώρας πολλῆς καὶ ἀφθόνου ἐν τῇ βαρβάρων μαστεύειν. 26. Ἔστε δ' ἄν, ἔφη, ἐκεῖ γένησθε, καὶ γὰρ καθάπερ Τιμασίων ὑπισχνοῦμαι ὑμῖν τὴν μισθοφορίαν. Ταῦτα δὲ ἔλεγεν εἰδώς, ἃ Τιμασίωνι οἱ Ἑρακλεῶται καὶ οἱ Σινωπεῖς ὑπισχνούντο, ὥστε ἐκπλεῖν. 27. Ὁ δὲ Ξενοφῶν ἐν τούτῳ ἐσίγα. Ἀναστὰς δὲ Φιλῆσιος καὶ Λύκων οἱ Ἀχαιοὶ ἔλεγον, ὥς δεινὸν εἶη ἰδίᾳ μὲν Ξενοφῶντα πείθειν τε καταμένειν καὶ θύεσθαι ὑπὲρ τῆς μονῆς μὴ κοινοῦμενον τῇ στρατιᾷ, εἰς δὲ τὸ κοινὸν μηδὲν ἀγορεύειν περὶ τούτων· ὥστε ἠναγκάσθη ὁ Ξενοφῶν ἀναστῆναι καὶ εἰπεῖν τάδε· 28. Ἐγώ, ὦ ἄνδρες, θύομαι μὲν, ὥς ὁρᾶτε, ὅποσα δύναμαι καὶ ὑπὲρ ὑμῶν καὶ ὑπὲρ ἑμαντοῦ, ὅπως ταῦτα τυγχάνω καὶ λέγων καὶ νοῶν καὶ πράττων, ὅποια μέλλει ὑμῖν τε κάλλιστα καὶ ἄριστα ἔσεσθαι καὶ ἐμοί. Καὶ νῦν ἐθυόμην περὶ αὐτοῦ τούτου, εἰ ἄμεινον εἶη ἄρχεσθαι λέγειν εἰς ὑμᾶς καὶ πράττειν περὶ τούτων, ἢ παντάπασι μηδέ ἄπτεσθαι τοῦ πράγματος. 29. Σιλανὸς δέ μοι ὁ μάντις ἀπεκρίνατο τὸ μὲν μέγιστον, τὰ ἱερὰ καλὰ εἶναι· ἦδει γὰρ καὶ ἐμὲ οὐκ ἄπειρον ὄντα διὰ τὸ αἰεὶ παρῆναι τοῖς ἱεροῖς· ἔλεξε δέ, ὅτι ἐν τοῖς ἱεροῖς φαίνοιτό τις δόλος καὶ ἐπιβουλὴ ἐμοί, ὥς ἄρα γινώσκων, ὅτι αὐτὸς ἐπεβούλευε διαβάλλειν με πρὸς ὑμᾶς. Ἐξήνεγκε γὰρ τὸν λόγον, ὥς ἐγὼ πράττειν ταῦτα διανοοίμην ἤδη οὐ πείσας ὑμᾶς. 30. Ἐγὼ δέ, εἰ μὲν ἐώρων ἀποροῦντας ὑμᾶς, τοῦτ' ἂν ἐσκόπουν, ἀφ' οὗ ἂν γένοιτο, ὥστε λαβόντας ὑμᾶς πόλιν τὸν μὲν βουλό-

μενον ἀποπλεῖν ἤδη, τὸν δὲ μὴ βουλόμενον, ἐπεὶ κτή-  
σαιτο ἰκανά, ὥστε καὶ τοὺς ἑαυτοῦ οἰκείους ὠφελησαί τι.  
31. Ἐπεὶ δὲ ὁρῶ ὑμῖν καὶ τὰ πλοῖα πέμποντας Ἑρα-  
κλεῶτας καὶ Σινωπεῖς, ὥστε ἐκπλεῖν, καὶ μισθὸν ὑπ-  
ισχνυμένους ὑμῖν ἄνδρας ἀπὸ νουμηνίας, καλὸν μοι δοκεῖ  
εἶναι σωζομένους, ἐνθα βουλόμεθα, μισθὸν τῆς σωτηρίας  
λαμβάνειν· καὶ αὐτὸς τε παύομαι ἐκείνης τῆς διανοίας,  
καί, ὅποσοι πρὸς ἐμὲ προσήσαν, λέγοντες, ὡς χρὴ ταῦτα  
πράττειν, ἀναπαύσασθαι φημι χρῆναι. 32. Οὕτω γὰρ  
γινώσκω· ἰμοῦ μὲν ὄντες πολλοί, ὥσπερ νυνί, δοκεῖτε ἂν  
μοι καὶ ἔντιμοι εἶναι καὶ ἔχειν τὰ ἐπιτήδεια· ἐν γὰρ τῷ  
κρατεῖν ἐστὶ καὶ τὸ λαμβάνειν τὰ τῶν ἡττόνων· δια-  
σπασθέντες δ' ἂν καὶ κατὰ μικρὰ γενομένης τῆς δυνάμεως  
οὗτ' ἂν τροφὴν δύνασθε λαμβάνειν, οὔτε χαίροντες ἂν  
ἀπαλλάξαίτε. 33. Δοκεῖ οὖν μοι ἄπερ ὑμῖν, ἐκπορεύ-  
εσθαι εἰς τὴν Ἑλλάδα, καὶ εἰάν τις μεῖνῃ ἢ ἀπολιπαῶν  
ληφθῇ, πρὶν ἐν ὑσφαλεῖ εἶναι πᾶν τὸ στρατεύμα, κρί-  
νεσθαι αὐτὸν ὡς ἀδικοῦντα. Καὶ ὅτῳ δοκεῖ, ἔφη, ταῦτα,  
ἀράτω τὴν χεῖρα. Ἀνέτειναν ἅπαντες.

34. Ὁ δὲ Σιλανὸς ἐβόα καὶ ἐπεχείρει λέγειν, ὡς  
δίκαιον εἶη ἀπιέναι τὸν βουλόμενον. Οἱ δὲ στρατιῶται  
οὐκ ἠνείχοντο, ἀλλ' ἠπειλουν αὐτῷ, ὅτι, εἰ λήψονται  
ἀποδιδράσκοντα, τὴν δίκην ἐπιθήσοιεν. 35. Ἐντεῦθεν,  
ἐπεὶ ἔγνωσαν οἱ Ἑρακλεῶται, ὅτι ἐκπλεῖν δεδογμένον  
εἶη, καὶ Ξενοφῶν αὐτὸς ἐπεψηφικῶς εἶη, τὰ μὲν πλοῖα  
πέμπουσι, τὰ δὲ χρήματα, ἃ ὑπέσχοντο Τιμασίῳνι καὶ  
Θώρακι, ἐφευσμένοι ἦσαν τῆς μισθοφορίας. 36. Ἐν-  
ταῦθα δὲ ἐκπεπληγμένοι ἦσαν καὶ ἐδεδοίκεσαν τὴν στρα-  
τιὰν οἱ τὴν μισθοφορίαν ὑπεσχημένοι. Παραλαβόντες  
οὖν οὗτοι καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους στρατηγούς, οἱς ἀνεκεκοίωοντο,  
ἃ πρόσθεν ἔπραττον (πάντες δ' ἦσαν πλὴν Νέωνος τοῦ

Ἀσιναιίου, ὃς Χειρισόφῳ ὑπεστρατήγει, Χειρίσοφος δὲ οὐπω παρῆν), ἔρχονται πρὸς Ξενοφῶντα καὶ λέγουσιν, ὅτι μεταμέλοι αὐτοῖς καὶ δοκοίη κράτιστον εἶναι πλεῖν εἰς Φᾶσιν, ἐπεὶ πλοῖα ἔστι, καὶ κατασχεῖν τὴν Φασιανῶν χώραν. 37. Αἰήτου δὲ υἱοῦς ἐτύγχανε βασιλεύων αὐτῶν. Ξενοφῶν δὲ ἀπεκρίνατο, ὅτι οὐδὲν ἂν τούτων εἴποι εἰς τὴν στρατιάν· ὑμεῖς δὲ ξυλλέξαντες, ἔφη, εἰ βούλεσθε, λέγετε. Ἐνταῦθα ἀποδείκνυται Τιμασιῶν ὁ Δαρδανεύς γνώμην οὐκ ἐκκλησιάζειν, ἀλλὰ τοὺς αὐτοῦ ἕκαστον λοχαγοὺς πρῶτον πειράσθαι πείθειν. Καὶ ἀελθόντες ταῦτ' ἐποιοῦν.

## CAPUT VII.

1. Ταῦτα οὖν οἱ στρατιῶται ἀνεπύθοντο [τὰ] πρατόμενα. Καὶ ὁ Νέων λέγει, ὡς Ξενοφῶν ἀναπεπεικῶς τοὺς ἄλλους στρατηγούς διανοεῖται ἄγειν τοὺς στρατιώτας ἐξαπατήσας πάλιν εἰς Φᾶσιν. 2. Ἀκούσαντες δ' οἱ στρατιῶται χαλεπῶς ἔφερον· καὶ ξύλλογοι ἐγίνοντο, καὶ κύκλοι ξυνίσταντο, καὶ μάλα φοβεροὶ ἦσαν· μὴ ποιήσειαν, οἷα καὶ τοὺς τῶν Κόλχων κήρυκας ἐποίησαν καὶ τοὺς ἀγορανόμους· ὅσοι γὰρ μὴ εἰς τὴν θάλατταν κατέφυγον, κατελεύσθησαν. 3. Ἐπεὶ δὲ ἦσθάνετο Ξενοφῶν, ἔδοξεν αὐτῷ ὡς τάχιστα ξυναγαγεῖν αὐτῶν ἀγοράν καὶ μὴ εὔσαι ξυλληγῆναι αὐτομάτους· καὶ ἐκέλευσε τὸν κήρυκα ξυλλέγειν ἀγοράν. 4. Οἱ δ' ἐπεὶ τοῦ κήρυκος ἤκουσαν, ξυνέδραμον καὶ μάλα ἐτοίμως· Ἐνταῦθα Ξενοφῶν τῶν μὲν στρατηγῶν οὐ κατηγόρει, ὅτι ἦλθον πρὸς αὐτόν, λέγει δὲ ὧδε·

5. Ἀκούω τινὰ διαβάλλειν, ὧ ἄνδρες, ἐμέ, ὡς ἐγὼ ἄρα ἐξαπατήσας ὑμᾶς μέλλω ἄγειν εἰς Φᾶσιν. Ἀκούσατε οὖν μου πρὸς θεῶν· καὶ ἐὰν μὲν ἐγὼ φαίνωμαι

ἀδικῶν, οὐ χρή με ἐνθένδε ἀπελθεῖν, πρὶν ἂν δῶ δίκην· ἂν δ' ὑμῶν φαίνωνται ἀδικοῦντες οἱ ἐμέ διαβάλλοντες, οὕτως αὐτοῖς χρήσθε, ὥσπερ ἄξιον. 6. 'Τμεῖς δ', ἔφη, ἴστε δῆπου, ὅθεν ἥλιος ἀνίσχει καὶ ὅπου δύεται· καὶ ὅτι, εἰάν μὲν τις εἰς τὴν Ἑλλάδα μέλλῃ ἵεναι, πρὸς ἑσπέραν δεῖ πορεύεσθαι· ἣν δέ τις βούλῃται εἰς τοὺς βαρβάρους, τοῦμπαλιν πρὸς ἕω. Ἔστιν οὖν ὅστις τοῦτο ἂν δύναίτο ὑμᾶς ἐξαπατῆσαι, ὥς ἥλιος ἔνθα μὲν ἀνίσχει, δύεται δ' ἐνταῦθα, ἔνθεν δὲ δύεται, ἀνίσχει δ' ἐντεῦθεν; 7. Ἀλλὰ μὴν καὶ τοῦτό γε ἐπίστασθε, ὅτι βορέας μὲν ἔξω τοῦ Πόντου εἰς τὴν Ἑλλάδα φέρει, νότος δὲ εἴσω εἰς Φᾶσιν· καὶ λέγεται, ὅταν βορρᾶς πνέῃ, ὡς καλοὶ πλοῖ εἰσιν εἰς τὴν Ἑλλάδα. Τοῦτο οὖν ἔστιν ὅπως τις ἂν ὑμᾶς ἐξαπατήσῃ, ὥστε ἐμβαίνειν, ὁπότεν νότος πνέῃ; 8. Ἀλλὰ γάρ, ὁπότεν γαλήνῃ ᾗ, ἐμβιβῶ. Οὐκ οὖν ἐγὼ μὲν ἐν ἐνὶ πλοίῳ πλεύσομαι, ὑμεῖς δὲ τοῦλάχιστον ἐν ἑκατόν; Πῶς ἂν οὖν ἐγὼ ἢ βιασαίμην ὑμᾶς ξὺν ἐμοὶ πλεῖν μὴ βουλομένους, ἢ ἐξαπατήσας ἄγοιμι; 9. Ποιῶ δ' ὑμᾶς ἐξαπατηθέντας καὶ καταγοητευθέντας ὑπ' ἐμοῦ ἦκειν εἰς Φᾶσιν· καὶ δὴ [καὶ] ἀποβαίνομεν εἰς τὴν χώραν· γινώσεσθε δῆπου, ὅτι οὐκ ἐν τῇ Ἑλλάδι ἐστέ· καὶ ἐγὼ μὲν ἔσομαι ὁ ἐξηπατηκὸς εἰς, ὑμεῖς δὲ οἱ ἐξηπατημένοι ἐγγὺς μυρίων ἔχοντες ὅπλα. Πῶς ἂν οὖν εἰς ἀνὴρ μᾶλλον δοίῃ δίκην, ἢ οὕτω περὶ αὐτοῦ τε καὶ ὑμῶν βουλευόμενος; 10. Ἀλλ' οὗτοί εἰσιν οἱ λόγοι ἀνδρῶν καὶ ἡλιθίων κάμοι φθονούντων, ὅτι ἐγὼ ὑφ' ὑμῶν τιμῶμαι. Καίτοι οὐ δικαίως γ' ἂν μοι φθονοῖεν· τίνα γὰρ αὐτῶν ἐγὼ κωλύω ἢ λέγειν, εἴ τις τι ἀγαθὸν δύναται, ἐν ὑμῖν, ἢ μάχεσθαι, εἴ τις ἐθέλει, ὑπὲρ ὑμῶν τε καὶ ἑαυτοῦ, ἢ ἐργηγορέναι περὶ τῆς ὑμετέρας ἀσφαλείας ἐπιμελούμενον; Τί γάρ; ἄρχοντας αἰρουμένων



ὕμῶν ἐγὼ τινι ἐμποδῶν εἰμι; Παρίημι, ἀρχέτω· μόνον ἀγαθόν τι ποιῶν ὑμᾶς φαινέσθω. 11. Ἄλλὰ γὰρ ἐμοὶ μὲν ἀρκεῖ περὶ τούτων τὰ εἰρημένα· εἰ δέ τις ὑμῶν ἢ αὐτὸς ἐξαπατηθῆναι ἂν οἴεται ταῦτα ἢ ἄλλον ἐξαπατῆσαι ταῦτα, λέγων διδασκέτω. 12. Ὅταν δὲ τούτων ἅλῃς ἔχῃτε, μὴ ἀπέλθῃτε, πρὶν ἀκούσῃτε, οἷον ὁρῶ ἐν τῇ στρατιᾷ ἀρχόμενον πρᾶγμα· ὃ εἰ ἔπεισι καὶ ἔσται οἷον ὑποδείκνυσιν, ὥρα ἡμῖν βουλευέσθαι ὑπὲρ ἡμῶν αὐτῶν, μὴ κάκιστοί τε καὶ αἰσχιστοὶ ἄνδρες ἀποφαινόμεθα καὶ πρὸς θεῶν καὶ πρὸς ἀνθρώπων καὶ φίλων καὶ πολεμίων, καὶ καταφρονηθῶμεν.

13. Ἀκούσαντες δὲ ταῦτα οἱ στρατιῶται ἐθαύμασάν τε, ὅτι εἶη, καὶ λέγειν ἐκέλευον. Ἐκ τούτου ἀρχεται πάλιν· Ἐπίστασθέ που, ὅτι χωρία ἦν ἐν τοῖς ὅρεσι βαρβαρικά, φίλια τοῖς Κερασουντίοις, ὅθεν κατιόντες τινὲς καὶ ἱερεῖα ἐπώλουν ἡμῖν καὶ ἄλλα ὧν εἶχον, δοκοῦσι δέ μοι καὶ ὑμῶν τινες εἰς τὸ ἐγγυτάτω χωρίον τούτων ἐλθόντες· ἀγοράσαντές τι πάλιν ἐλθεῖν. 14. Τοῦτο καταμαθὼν Κλεάρετος ὁ λοχαγός, ὅτι καὶ μικρὸν εἶη καὶ ἀφύλακτον διὰ τὸ φίλιον νομίζειν εἶναι, ἔρχεται ἐπ' αὐτοὺς τῆς νυκτὸς ὡς πορθήσων, οὐδενὶ ἡμῶν εἰπών. 15. Διενενόητο δέ, εἰ λάβοι τόδε τὸ χωρίον, εἰς μὲν τὸ στρατεύμα μηκέτι ἐλθεῖν, εἰςβὰς δ' εἰς πλοῖον, ἐν ᾧ ἐτύγγανον οἱ ξύσκηνοι αὐτοῦ παραπλέοντες, καὶ ἐνθέμενος, εἴ τι λάβοι, ἀποπλέων οἴχεσθαι ἔξω τοῦ Πόντου. Καὶ ταῦτα ξυνωμολόγησαν αὐτῷ οἱ ἐκ τοῦ πλοίου σύσκηνοι, ὡς ἐγὼ νῦν αἰσθάνομαι. 16. Παρακαλέσας οὖν ὁπόσους ἔπειθεν ἤγεν ἐπὶ τὸ χωρίον. Πορευόμενον δ' αὐτὸν φθάνει ἡμέρα γενομένη, καὶ ξυστάντες οἱ ἄνθρωποι ἀπὸ ἰσχυρῶν τόπων βάλλοντες καὶ παίοντες τίν τε Κλεάρετον ἀποκτείνουσι καὶ τῶν ἄλλων συγχρούς·

οἱ δέ τινες καὶ εἰς Κερασούντα αὐτῶν ἀποχωροῦσι.  
17. Ταῦτα δ' ἦν ἐν τῇ ἡμέρᾳ, ἣ ἡμεῖς δεῦρο ἐξωρμῶμεν  
περὶ τῶν δὲ πλεόντων ἔτι τινὲς ἦσαν ἐν Κερασούντι  
οὐπω ἀνηγμένοι. Μετὰ τοῦτο, ὡς οἱ Κερασούντιοι λέ-  
γουσιν, ἀφικνοῦνται τῶν ἐκ τοῦ χωρίου τρεῖς ἄνδρες  
τῶν γεραιτέρων πρὸς τὸ κοινὸν τὸ ἡμέτερον χρήζοντες  
ἐλθεῖν. 18. Ἐπεὶ δ' ἡμᾶς οὐ κατέλαβον, πρὸς τοὺς  
Κερασουντίους ἔλεγον, ὅτι θαυμάζοιεν, τί ἡμῖν δόξειεν  
ἐλθεῖν ἐπὶ αὐτούς. Ἐπεὶ μέντοι σφεῖς λέγειν, ἔφασαν,  
ὅτι οὐκ ἀπὸ κοινοῦ γένοιτο τὸ πρᾶγμα, ἥδεσθαι τε αὐτούς  
καὶ μέλλειν ἐνθάδε πλεῖν, ὡς ἡμῖν λέξαι τὰ γεγόμενα,  
καὶ τοὺς νεκροὺς κελεύειν αὐτοὺς θάπτειν λαβόντας τοὺς  
τούτου δεομένους. 19. Τῶν δ' ἀποφυγόντων τινὰς Ἑλ-  
λῆνων τυχεῖν ἔτι ὄντας ἐν Κερασούντι· αἰσθόμενοι δὲ  
τοὺς βαρβάρους, ὅποι ἴοιεν, αὐτοὶ τε ἐτόλμησαν βάλλειν  
τοῖς λίθοις καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις παρεκελεύοντο. Καὶ οἱ  
ἄνδρες ἀποθνήσκουσι τρεῖς ὄντες οἱ πρέσβεις κατα-  
λευσθέντες. 20. Ἐπεὶ δὲ τοῦτο ἐγένετο, ἔρχονται πρὸς  
ἡμᾶς οἱ Κερασούντιοι καὶ λέγουσι τὸ πρᾶγμα· καὶ ἡμεῖς  
οἱ στρατηγοὶ ἀκούσαντες ἠχθόμεθά τε τοῖς γεγενημένοις  
καὶ ἐβουλευόμεθα ξὺν τοῖς Κερασουντίοις, ὅπως ἂν  
ταφείησαν οἱ τῶν Ἑλλήνων νεκροί. 21. Συγκαθήμενοι  
δ' ἔξωθεν τῶν ὑπλῶν ἐξαίφνης ἀκούομεν βορύβου πολ-  
λοῦ· Παῖε, παῖε, βάλλε, βάλλε. Καὶ τάχα δὴ ὀρώμεν  
πολλοὺς προσθέοντας λίθους ἔχοντας ἐν ταῖς χερσὶ, τοὺς  
δὲ καὶ ἀναιρουμένους. 22. Καὶ οἱ μὲν Κερασούντιοι,  
ὡς ἂν καὶ ἑωρακότες τὸ παρ' ἑαυτοῖς πρᾶγμα, δέσαντες  
ἀποχωροῦσι πρὸς τὰ πλοῖα. Ἦσαν δὲ νῆ Δία καὶ ἡμῶν  
οἱ ἔδεισαν. 23. Ἐγωγε μὴν ἦλθον πρὸς αὐτοὺς καὶ  
ἠρώτων, ὅ τι ἐστὶ τὸ πρᾶγμα. Τῶν δὲ ἦσαν μὲν οἱ  
οὐδὲν ἥδεσαν, ὅμως δὲ λίθους εἶχον ἐν ταῖς χερσίν.

Ἐπεὶ δὲ καὶ εἰδοῖσι τινὲς ἐπέτυχον, λέγει μοι, ὅτι οἱ ἀγορανόμοι δεινότατα ποιοῦσι τὸ στράτευμα. 24. Ἐν τούτῳ τις ὁρᾷ τὸν ἀγορανόμον Ζήλαρχον πρὸς τὴν θάλατταν ἀποχωροῦντα καὶ ἀνέκραγεν· οἱ δὲ ὡς ἤκουσαν, ὥσπερ ἡ συὸς ἀγρίου ἢ ἐλάφου φανέντος, ἵενται ἐπ' αὐτόν. 25. Οἱ δ' αὖ Κερασούντιοι ὡς εἶδον ὁρμῶντας καθ' αὐτούς, σαφῶς νομίζοντες ἐπὶ σφᾶς ἵεσθαι, φεύγουσι δρόμῳ καὶ ἐμπίπτουσιν εἰς τὴν θάλατταν. Ξυνεισέπεσον δὲ καὶ ἡμῶν αὐτῶν τινες, καὶ ἐπνύγετο ὅστις νεῖν μὴ ἐτύγχανεν ἐπιστάμενος. 26. Καὶ τούτους τί δοκεῖτε; Ἡδίκουν μὲν οὐδέν, ἔδεισαν δέ, μὴ λύττα τις ὥσπερ κυσὶν ἡμῖν ἐμπεπτῶκοι. Εἰ οὖν ταῦτα τοιαῦτα ἔσται, θεάσασθε, οἷα ἡ κατάστασις ἡμῖν ἔσται τῆς στρατιᾶς. 27. Ὅτι μὲν οἱ πάντες οὐκ ἔσεσθε κύριοι οὔτε ἀνελεῖσθαι πόλεμον, ὃ ἂν βούλησθε, οὔτε καταλύσαι, ἰδίᾳ δὲ ὁ βουλόμενος ἄξει στράτευμα ἐφ' ὃ τι ἂν θέλῃ. Καὶ τινες πρὸς ὑμᾶς ἴωσι πρέσβεις ἢ εἰρήνης δεόμενοι ἢ ἄλλου τινός, κατακτείναντες τούτους οἱ βουλόμενοι ποιήσουσιν ὑμᾶς τῶν λόγων μὴ ἀκοῦσαι τῶν πρὸς ὑμᾶς ἰόντων. 28. Ἐπειτα δέ, οὓς μὲν ἂν ὑμεῖς πάντες ἔλησθε ἄρχοντας, ἐν οὐδεμίᾳ χώρᾳ ἔσονται· ἵστις δ' ἂν ἐαυτὸν ἔληται στρατηγὸν καὶ ἐθέλῃ λέγειν, Βάλλε, βάλλε, οὗτος ἔσται ἱκανὸς καὶ ἄρχοντα κατακαίνει καὶ ἰδιώτην, ὃν ἂν ὑμῶν ἐθέλῃ, ἄκριτον, ἣν ὥσιν οἱ πεισόμενοι αὐτῷ, ὥσπερ καὶ νῦν ἐγένετο. 29. Οἷα δὲ ὑμῖν καὶ διαπράχασιν οἱ αὐθαίρετοι οὗτοι στρατηγοί, σκέψασθε. Ζήλαρχος μὲν ὁ ἀγορανόμος, εἰ μὲν ἀδικεῖ ὑμᾶς, οἴχεται ἀποπλέων οὐ δοὺς ὑμῖν δίκην· εἰ δὲ μὴ ἀδικεῖ, φεύγει ἐκ τοῦ στρατεύματος δέισας, μὴ ἀδίκως ἄκριτος ἀποθάνῃ. 30. Οἱ δὲ καταλεύσαντες τοὺς πρέσβεις διεπράξαντο ἡμῖν μόνοις μὲν τῶν Ἑλλήνων εἰς Κερασούντα μὴ ἀσ-

φαλές εἶναι, ἂν μὴ σὺν ἰσχύϊ, ἀφικνεῖσθαι· τοὺς δὲ νεκροὺς, οὓς πρόσθεν αὐτοὶ οἱ κατακανόντες ἐκέλευον θάπτειν, τούτους διεπράξαντο μηδὲ ξὺν κηρυκίῳ ἔτι ἀσφαλές εἶναι ἀνελέσθαι. Τίς γὰρ ἐθελήσει κήρυξ ἰέναι κήρυκας ἀπεκτονώς; 31. Ἄλλ' ἡμεῖς Κερασουντιῶν θάψαι αὐτοὺς ἐδεήθημεν. Εἰ μὲν οὖν ταῦτα καλῶς ἔχει, δοξάτω ὑμῖν, ἴνα, ὡς τοιούτων ἐσομένων, καὶ φυλακὴν ἰδίᾳ ποιήσῃ τις καὶ τὰ ἐρυμνά [ὑπερδέξια] πειρᾶται ἔχων σκηνοῦν. 32. Εἰ μέντοι ὑμῖν δοκεῖ θηρίων, ἀλλὰ μὴ ἀνθρώπων εἶναι τὰ τοιαῦτα ἔργα, σκοπεῖτε παῦλάν τινα αὐτῶν· εἰ δὲ μή, πρὸς Διὸς πῶς ἢ θεοῖς θύσομεν ἡδέως, ποιοῦντες ἔργα ἀσεβῆ, ἢ πολεμίοις πῶς μαχοῦμεθα, ἢν ἀλλήλους κατακαίνωμεν; 33. Πόλις δὲ φιλία τίς ἡμᾶς δέξεται, ἥτις ἂν ὁρᾷ τοσαύτην ἀνομίαν ἐν ἡμῖν; Ἀγορὰν δὲ τίς ἄξει θαρρῶν, ἣν περὶ τὰ μέγιστα τοιαῦτα ἐξαμαρτάνοντες φαινώμεθα; Οὐδὲ δὲ δὴ πάντων οἴόμεθα τεύξεσθαι ἐπαίνου, τίς ἡμᾶς τοιούτους ὄντας ἐπαιnéσειεν; Ἡμεῖς μὲν γὰρ οἶδ' ὅτι πονηροὺς ἂν φαίημεν εἶναι τοὺς τὰ τοιαῦτα ποιοῦντας.

34. Ἐκ τούτου ἀνιστάμενοι πάντες ἔλεγον τοὺς μὲν τούτων ἄρξαντας δοῦναι δίκην, τοῦ δὲ λοιποῦ μηκέτι ἐξεῖναι ἀνομίας ἄρξαι· εἰ δὲ τις ἄρξῃ, ἀγεσθαι αὐτοὺς ἐπὶ θανάτῳ· τοὺς δὲ στρατηγούς εἰς δίκας πάντας καταστήσαι· εἶναι δὲ δίκας καὶ εἴ τι ἄλλο τις ἡδίκητο, ἐξ οὗ Κύρος ἀπέθανε· δικαστὰς δὲ τοὺς λοχαγοὺς ἐποίησαντο. 35. Παραινοῦντος δὲ Ξενοφῶντος καὶ τῶν μάντεων συμβουλευόντων ἔδοξε καὶ καθῆραι τὸ στράτευμα. Καὶ ἐγένετο καθαρμός.

## CAPUT VIII.

1. Ἐδοξε δὲ καὶ τοὺς στρατηγούς *δίκην ὑποσχέιν* τοῦ παρελθυθότος χρόνου. Καὶ διδόντων Φιλήσιος μὲν ὦφλε καὶ Ξανθικλῆς τῆς φυλακῆς τῶν γαυλικῶν χρημάτων τὸ μείωμα εἴκοσι μνᾶς, Σοφαίνετος δέ, ὅτι ἄρχων αἰρεθεὶς κατημέλει, δέκα μνᾶς. Ξενοφώντας δὲ κατηγορήσαν τινες φάσκοντες παῖσθαι ὑπ' αὐτοῦ καὶ ὡς ὑβρίζοντος τὴν κατηγορίαν ἐποιοῦντο. 2. Καὶ ὁ Ξενοφῶν ἐκέλευσεν εἰπεῖν τὸν πρῶτον λέξαντα, ποῦ καὶ ἐπλήγη. Ὁ δὲ ἀποκρίνεται· Ὅπου καὶ τῷ ῥίγῃ ἀπωλλύμεθα, καὶ χιῶν πλείστη ἦν. 3. Ὁ δὲ εἶπεν· Ἀλλὰ μὴν καὶ χειμῶνός γε ὄντος οἴου λέγεις, σίτου δὲ ἐπιλελοιπότης, οἴνου δὲ μῆδ' ὀσφραίνεσθαι παρόν, ὑπὸ δὲ πόνων πολλῶν ἀπαγορευόντων, πολεμίων δὲ ἐπομένων, εἰ ἐν τοιούτῳ καιρῷ ὑβρίζον, ὁμολογῶ καὶ τῶν ὄντων ὑβριστότερος εἶναι, οἷς φασιν ὑπὸ τῆς ὑβρεως κόπον οὐκ ἐγγίνεσθαι. 4. Ὅμως δὲ καὶ λέξον, ἔφη, ἐκ τίνος ἐπλήγης. Πότερον ἤτουν τί σε καί, ἐπεὶ μοι οὐκ ἐδίδους, ἔπαιον; ἀλλ' ἀπῆτον; ἀλλὰ περὶ παιδικῶν μαχόμενος; ἀλλὰ μεθύων ἐπαρώνησα; 5. Ἐπεὶ δὲ τούτων οὐδὲν ἔφησεν, ἐπήρετο αὐτόν, εἰ ὀπλιτεύοι. Οὐκ ἔφη. Πάλιν, εἰ πελτάζοι. Οὐδὲ τοῦτ' ἔφη, ἀλλ' ἡμίονον ἐλαύνειν ταχθεὶς ὑπὸ συσκήνων ἐλεύθερος ὦν. 6. Ἐνταῦθα δὴ ἀναγινώσκει αὐτὸν καὶ ἤρετο· Ἡ σὺ εἰ ὁ τὸν κάμνοντα ἀπάγων; Ναὶ μὰ Δί', ἔφη· σὺ γὰρ ἡνάγκαζες· τὰ δὲ τῶν ἐμῶν συσκήνων σκευὴ διέρριψας. 7. Ἀλλ' ἡ μὲν διάρριψις, ἔφη ὁ Ξενοφῶν, τοιαύτη τις ἐγένετο· διέδωκα ἄλλοις ἄγειν καὶ ἐκέλευσα πρὸς ἐμὲ ἀπαγαγεῖν καὶ ἀπολαβὼν ἅπαντα σῶα ἀπέδωκά σοι, ἐπειδὴ καὶ σὺ ἐμοὶ ἀπέδειξας τὸν ἄνδρα. Οἶον δὲ τὸ πρῶγμα ἐγένετο, ἀκούσατε, ἔφη· καὶ

γὰρ ἄξιον. 8. Ἀνὴρ κατελείπετο διὰ τὸ μηκέτι δύνασθαι πορεύεσθαι. Καὶ ἐγὼ τὸν μὲν ἄνδρα τοσοῦτον ἐγίγνωσκον, ὅτι εἰς ἡμῶν εἴη· ἡνάγκασα δὲ σὲ τοῦτον ἄγειν, ὡς μὴ ἀπόλοιτο· καὶ γάρ, ὡς ἐγὼ οἶμαι, πολέμιοι ἡμῖν ἐφείποντο. 9. Συνέφη τοῦτο ὁ ἄνθρωπος. Οὐκοῦν, ἔφη ὁ Ξενοφῶν, ἐπεὶ προὔπεμψά σε, καταλαμβάνω αὐτὸς σὺν τοῖς ὀπισθοφύλαξι προσιῶν βόθρον ὀρύττοντα ὡς κατορύττοντα τὸν ἄνθρωπον καὶ ἐπιστὰς ἐπήνουν σε; 10. Ἐπεὶ δὲ παρεστηκότων ἡμῶν συνέκαμψε τὸ σκέλος ὁ ἀνὴρ, ἀνέκραγον οἱ παρόντες, ὅτι ζῇ ὁ ἀνὴρ· σὺ δ' εἶπας· Ὅπόσα γε βούλεται, ὡς ἔγωγε αὐτὸν οὐκ ἄξω. Ἐνταῦθα ἔπαισά σε, ἀληθῆ λέγεις· ἔδοξας γὰρ μοι εἰδοῦναι εἰκέναι, ὅτι ἔζη. 11. Τί οὖν; ἔφη, ἡττόν τι ἀπέθανεν, ἐπεὶ ἐγὼ σοι ἀπέδειξα αὐτόν; Καὶ γὰρ ἡμεῖς, ἔφη ὁ Ξενοφῶν, πάντες ἀποθανούμεθα· τούτου οὖν ἕνεκα ζῶντας ἡμᾶς δεῖ κατορυχθῆναι; 12. Τοῦτον μὲν ἀνέκραγον ὡς ὀλίγας παῖσειεν ἄλλους δ' ἐκέλευε λέγειν, διὰ τί ἕκαστος ἐπλήγη. Ἐπεὶ δὲ οὐκ ἀνίσταντο, αὐτὸς ἔλεγεν·

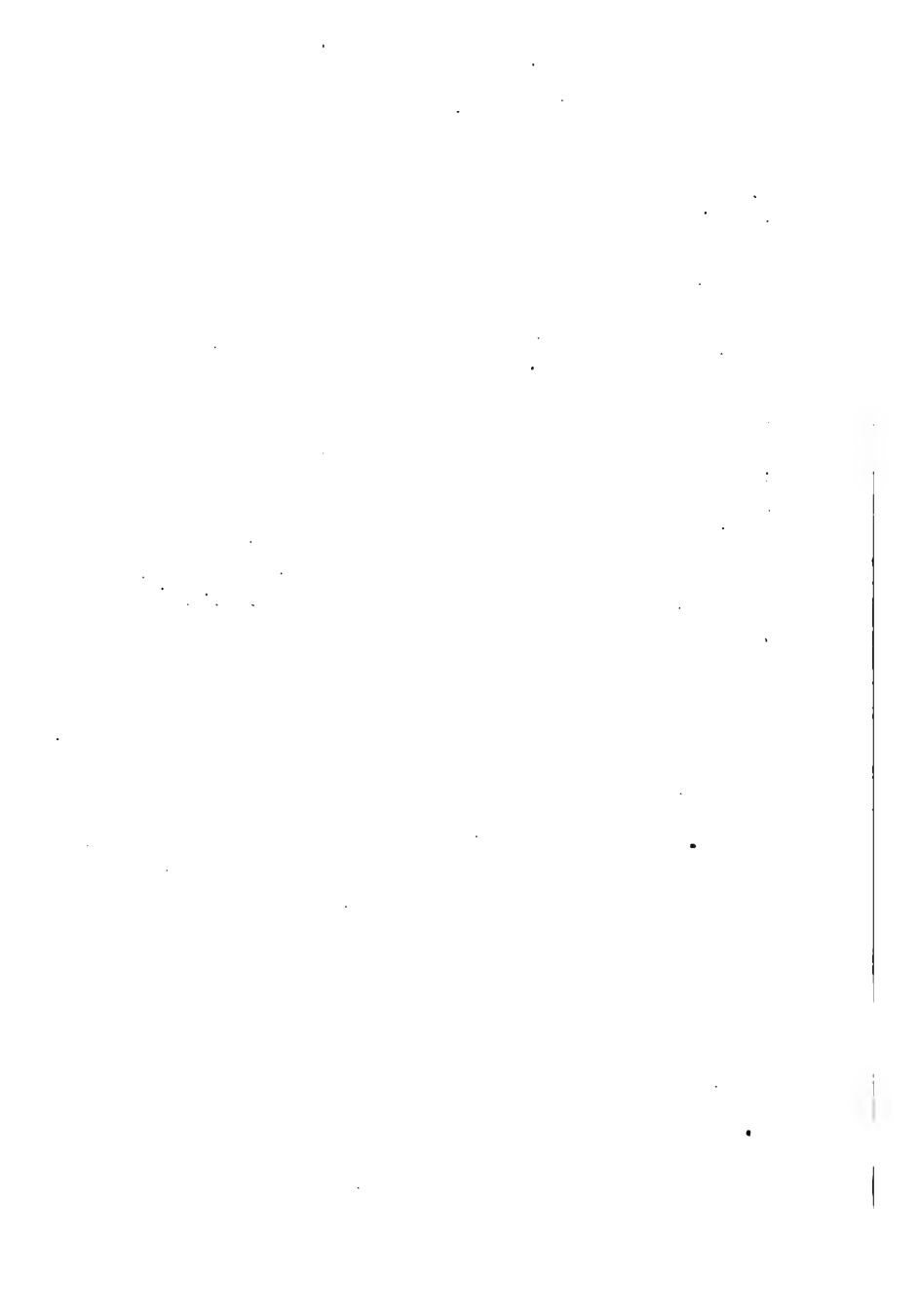
13. Ἐγὼ, ὦ ἄνδρες, ὁμολογῶ παῖσαι δὴ ἄνδρας ἕνεκεν ἀταξίας, ὅσοις σώζεσθαι μὲν ἥρκει δι' ἡμᾶς, ἐν τάξει τε ἰόντων καὶ μαχομένων, ὅπου δέοι, αὐτοὶ δὲ λιπόντες τὰς τάξεις προθέοντες ἀρπάζειν ἤθελον καὶ ἡμῶν πλεονεκτεῖν. Εἰ δὲ τοῦτο πάντες ἐποιοῦμεν, ἅπαντες ἂν ἀπωλόμεθα. 14. Ἦδη δὲ καὶ μαλακιζόμενόν τινα καὶ οὐκ ἐθέλοντα ἀνίστασθαι, ἀλλὰ προϊέμενον αὐτὸν τοῖς πολεμίοις καὶ ἔπαισα καὶ ἐβιασάμην πορεύεσθαι. Ἐν γὰρ τῷ ἰσχυρῷ χειμῶνι καὶ αὐτός ποτε ἀναμένων τινὰς συσκευαζομένους καθεζόμενος συχνὸν χρόνον κατέμαθον ἀναστὰς μόλις καὶ τὰ σκέλη ἐκτείνας. 15. Ἐν ἐμνηστῷ οὖν πείραν λαβὼν, ἐκ τούτου καὶ ἄλλον, ὅποτε ἴδοιμι καθήμενον καὶ βλακεύοντα, ἡλανον· τὸ γὰρ κινεῖσθαι

καὶ ἀνδρίζεσθαι παρεῖχε θερμασίαν τινὰ καὶ ὑγρότητα, τὸ δὲ καθῆσθαι καὶ ἡσυχίαν ἔχειν ἑώρων ὑπουργὸν ὃν τῷ τε ἀποπήγνυσθαι τὸ αἷμα καὶ τῷ ἀποσῆπασθαι τοὺς τῶν ποδῶν δακτύλους, ἅπερ πολλοὺς καὶ ὑμεῖς ἴστε παθόντας. 16. Ἄλλον δέ γε ἴσως ἀπολειπόμενόν που διὰ ῥαστώνην καὶ κωλύοντα καὶ ὑμᾶς τοὺς πρόσθεν καὶ ἡμᾶς τοὺς ὀπισθεν πορεύεσθαι ἔπαισα πύξ, ὥπως μὴ λόγχῃ ὑπὸ τῶν πολεμίων παλίντο. 17. Καὶ γὰρ οὖν νῦν ἔξεστιν αὐτοῖς σωθεῖσιν, εἴ τι ὑπ' ἐμοῦ ἔπαθον παρὰ τὸ δίκαιον, δίκην λαβεῖν. Εἰ δ' ἐπὶ τοῖς πολεμίοις ἐγένοντο, τί μέγα ἂν οὕτως ἔπαθον, ὅτου δίκην ἂν ἡξίουν λαμβάνειν; 18. Ἀπλοὺς μοι, ἔφη, ὁ λόγος. Εἰ μὲν ἐπ' ἀγαθῷ ἐκόλασά τινα, ἀξιώ ὑπέχειν δίκην, οἶαν καὶ γονεῖς υἱοῖς καὶ διδάσκαλοι παισὶ. Καὶ γὰρ οἱ ἱατροὶ καίουσιν καὶ τέμνουσιν ἐπ' ἀγαθῷ. 19. Εἰ δὲ ὕβρει νομιζέτε με ταῦτα πράττειν; ἐνθυμήητε, ὅτι νῦν ἐγὼ θαρσῶ σὺν τοῖς θεοῖς μᾶλλον ἢ τότε, καὶ θρασύτερός εἰμι νῦν ἢ τότε, καὶ οἶνον πλείω πίνω, ἀλλ' ὅμως οὐδένα παίω· ἐν εὐδία γὰρ ὀρώ ὑμᾶς. 20. Ὅταν δὲ χειμῶν ᾖ, καὶ θάλαττα μεγάλη ἐπιφέρηται, οὐχ ὁρᾶτε, ὅτι καὶ νεύματος μόνου ἔνεκα χαλεπαίνει μὲν πρῶρεὺς τοῖς ἐν πρῶρᾳ, χαλεπαίνει δὲ καὶ κυβερνήτης τοῖς ἐν πρύμνῃ; Ἰκανὰ γὰρ ἐν τῷ τοιοῦτῳ καὶ μικρὰ ἁμαρτηθέντα πάντα συνεπιτρίψαι. 21. Ὅτι δὲ δικαίως ἔπαιον αὐτοὺς, καὶ ὑμεῖς κατεδικάσατε· ἔχοντες ξίφη, οὐ ψήφους, παρέστητε, καὶ ἐξῆν ὑμῖν ἐπικουρεῖν αὐτοῖς, εἰ ἐβούλεσθε· ἀλλὰ μὰ Δία οὔτε τούτοις ἐπεκουρεῖτε, οὔτε σὺν ἐμοὶ τὸν ἀτακτοῦντα ἔπατε. 22. Τοιγαροῦν ἐξουσίαν ἐποιήσατε τοῖς κακοῖς· αὐτῶν ὑβρίζειν ἐώντες αὐτούς. Οἶμαι γάρ, εἰ ἐθέλετε σκοπεῖν, τοὺς αὐτοὺς εὐρήσετε καὶ τότε κακίστους καὶ νῦν ὑβριστοτάτους. 23. Βοτσκοὺς γοῦν, ὁ πύκτης ὁ Θετταλός, τότε

μὲν διεμάχετο ὡς κάμνων ἀσπίδα μὴ φέρειν, νῦν δ', ὡς ἀκούω, Κοτυωριτῶν πολλοὺς ἤδη ἀποδέδυκεν. 24. \*Ὦν οὖν σωφρονήτε, τοῦτον τάναντία ποιήσετε ἢ τοὺς κύνας ποιοῦσι· τοὺς μὲν γὰρ κύνας τοὺς χαλεποὺς τὰς μὲν ἡμέρας διδέασι, τὰς δὲ νύκτας ἀφιάσι, τοῦτον δέ, ἦν σωφρονήτε, τὴν νύκτα μὲν δήσετε, τὴν δὲ ἡμέραν ἀφήσετε. 25. Ἀλλὰ γάρ, ἔφη, θαυμάζω, ὅτι, εἰ μὲν τινι ὑμῶν ἀπηχθόμεν, μέμνησθε καὶ οὐ σιωπᾶτε, εἰ δέ τῳ ἡ χειμῶνα ἐπεκούρησα, ἡ πολέμιον ἀπήρυξα, ἡ ἀσθενοῦντι ἡ ἀποροῦντι συνεξευπόρησά τι, τούτων οὐδεὶς μέμνηται· οὐδ' εἴ τινα καλῶς ποιοῦντα ἐπήνεσα, οὐδ' εἴ τιν' ἀνδρα ὄντα ἀγαθὸν ἐτίμησα, ὡς ἐδυνάμην, οὐδὲν τούτων μέμνησθε. 26. Ἀλλὰ μὴν καλὸν τε καὶ δίκαιον καὶ ὅσιον καὶ ἥδιον τῶν ἀγαθῶν μᾶλλον ἢ τῶν κακῶν μεμνήσθαι.

Ἐκ τούτου μὲν δὴ ἀνίσταντο καὶ ἀνεμύμνησκον· καὶ περιεγέμετο, ὥστε καλῶς ἔχειν.





# NOTES.

## CHAPTER I.

§ 1. *Recapitulation of preceding narrative.*

τῇ μέχρ' ἐπὶ θάλατταν] In IV. 5. 6 we find the corresponding phrase ἔστε ἐπὶ τὸ δάπεδον.

ἀφίκοντο] The optative, for which ἀφίκοντο is read by a few MSS, throws the sentence into the oblique narration as forming a part of the original words.

§§ 2—4. *In accordance with the suggestion of Antileon it is voted that Cheirisophus shall be despatched to the Spartan admiral, Anaxibius, to obtain from him ships for the conveyance of the Greeks.*

Θούριος] Thurii was a city of Lucania in Magna Græcia, founded by a colony of Athenians, and situated on the gulf of Tarentum near the site of Sybaris.

τοίνυν] 'now I for my part, said he, am wearied out.' The particle τοίνυν is introduced thus to soften transitions, a use in which it corresponds with the Latin *autem*. Its force is scarcely so pronounced as that of *igitur* in Latin with which Kühner however prefers to compare it.

ἐνσκευαζόμενος] A participle is often added thus to ἀπείρηκα and similar verbs, e.g. in Soph. *Trach.* 789 ἐπεὶ δ' ἀπείπε πολλά μὲν τῶλας χθονὶ ῥίπτων ἑαυτὸν, κ.τ.λ.

φυλακὰς φυλάττων] For a similar cognate accusative compare στρατηγήσοντα ταύτην τὴν στρατηγίαν (I. 3. 15), while φυλακὰς φυλάττειν occurs again in II. 6. 10.

(καθεύδων)] This participle, which is admitted by Kühner into his text, is rejected by Breitenbach and bracketed by Schneider, Bornemann, and Macmichael. It appears in but one of the five leading MSS, while its presence in the text may be further objected to on the score of internal evidence. The passage in the *Sympos.* IV. 31, ἡδέως μὲν καθεύδω ἐκτεταμένους, though at first sight analogous, offers no justification for the introduction of the double participle.

ὥσπερ Ὀδυσσεύς] The passage which describes the arrival of Ulysses at Ithaca and how he was left asleep on the shore by the Phœnician sailors (*Od.* XIII. 116) is rendered in Pope's version as follows:

*Ulysses sleeping on his couch they bore,  
And gently placed him on the rocky shore.*

§ 4. καὶ τυγχάνει] Three out of the four leading MSS read καὶ before τυγχάνει which is retained by Kühner and all the best editors: 'and he is too at the present time the admiral of the fleet.' As Kühner points out, the natural order of the sentence τυγχάνει δὲ καὶ ναυαρχῶν (which would have offended no one) is purposely inverted by the author in order that the words φῶλος and ναυαρχῶν may be placed in stronger relief.

πέμψητε] to Byzantium, where, as we gather from a passage in VII. 1. 3. the Lacedæmonian admiral was at this time stationed.

ἐπερ] 'since you wish to go by sea,' Macmichael, a rendering which is suggestive rather of ἐπε than of the slight doubt which is almost without exception denoted by ἐπερ. Translate therefore 'if in truth you prefer to go by sea.'

§§ 5—13. A speech is made by Xenophon in which plans are proposed for the maintenance and safety of the Greeks during the absence of Chærisophus, and other means suggested for securing their return home in case his mission should fail.

§ 6. εὐπορία] 'a supply of funds with which to make purchases,' δρον being of course the genitive of price. This twofold want has been repeatedly referred to in the earlier books as an important consideration in determining the future course of the expedition.

§ 7. σὺν προνομαῖς] 'with organised forays,' as the word is evidently used in contrast with the expressions ἀμελῶς τε καὶ ἀφυλάκτως πορεύεσθαι and ἄλλως πλανᾶσθαι. Muretus suggests the elegant emendation σὺν προδρόμοις, but Kühner sufficiently defends the text by the analogy of the following passage in the *Cyrop.* (VI. 1. 24) ἐξήγειν δὲ εἰς προνομὰς...δπως ἐν ταῖς ἀγωγαῖς τὰς τάξεις ὑπομνησκοντο. The word occurs again in *Hel.* IV. 1. 16, though without any explanation which can help us in determining its meaning.

πλανᾶσθαι] In place of the infinitive Kühner reads πλανᾶσθε on the authority of two out of the five leading MSS. I cannot however agree with him, as the return to the oblique narration after the introduction of this parenthesis is surely an awkward and unnatural construction. In either case the infinitive ἐπιμελεῖσθαι must depend on the preceding verb δοκεῖ, while ἡμᾶς will refer to the generals, and τούτων to the subject-matter of the entire sentence.

§ 8. ἐπὶ λεῖαν γὰρ] Kühner, and with him Matt. and Jelf, understand γὰρ in this connexion as equivalent to γε ἄρα (cf. *Anab.* VI. 4. 8 τῶν γὰρ στρατιωτῶν...τοιοῦτοι σὺν κ.τ.λ.) adding the following explanation: *Sæpe γὰρ rationem enuntiationis sequentis reddere videtur; at videtur tantum.* Madvig, on the other hand, explains it as assigning a relation or circumstance which has been already pointed at by a preceding demonstrative pronoun, and would render it in English by 'namely' or 'that.' It is probably simply *proleptic* in the sense of *ἐπε*, 'as some of you will go...therefore I think' etc.

δοκοῖ] i. e. μέλλει ἐξέσθαι 'and also to inform us of the direction.'

ἐγχειρῇ ποί] which has been emended by most of the editors into ἐγχειρῇ τι ποίειν, is retained by Kühner and Breitenbach on the authority of three at any rate of the five leading MSS, although the passage from Diod. XL. 80 ἐπεχειρήσαμεν εἰς τὰς ἀνω σατραπείας, which

they quote in support of it, is hardly an instance in point, as the compound *ἐπιχειρεῖν* is more indicative of motion, and the object likewise is more definitely expressed.

ἐφ' οὓς ἂν ἴωσιν] By understanding *δύναμιν* directly as a noun of multitude, i.e. 'the troops,' 'the force,' we can avoid the necessity of supplying *τούτων* with *οὗς*, which is the alternative explanation suggested by Kühner and the other editors.

§ 9. κατὰ μέρος μερισθέντες] is the reading of all the mss with the exception of one which gives *μερισθῶμεν φυλάττοντες*. Notwithstanding, Kühner is almost the only editor who retains *μερισθέντες* as part of the text, Schneider and others considering it to have been added in explanation of *κατὰ μέρος*. They contend moreover that *εἰς μέρη μερίζειν* rather than *κατὰ μέρος μερίζειν* is the legitimate phrase, an objection which is anticipated by Kühner when he proposes to disconnect the words *κατὰ μέρος* from the participle, and to understand them in the sense of 'by turns.' It is doubtful however whether even this concession is needed, as the analogous phrases *κατὰ μέρος διηρημένοι*, *κατ' ἀναπαύλας διηρημένοι* are found in Thucydides (e. g. II. 75).

θηράν] a poetical word, denoting either the *pursuit* as in Soph. *Aj.* 2, *πείραν τιν' ἐχθρῶν ἀπάσαι θηρώμενον*, or the *capture* as in Soph. *Ant.* 432 *σὺν δὲ νῦν θηρώμεθ' εὐθὺς οὐδὲν ἐκπεπληγμένην*.

§ 10. ἤξει] for which two out of the five best mss give *ἤξοι*, is rightly retained by the editors, as the form of the sentence implies that the hypothesis is presumptively, though not actually, realised. '*Granting that we had been assured of his return.*' Cf. *Madv. obs. gr.* p. 20, and *Dem. Megal.* § 12 *οὐδ' ἂν ὑμεῖς ἠθελήσατε δήπου σώζειν αὐτοὺς, εἰ τοῦτο προδλεγον ὑμῖν ὅτι σωθέντες...οὐδεμίαν ὑμῖν χάριν ἐξουσι τῆς σωτηρίας*.

*ὑπαρχόντων ἐνθάδε*] 'while we have ships ready on the spot.'

§ 11. μακρὰ πλοῖα] *naves longas*. Observe that with the verbs *κατάγοιμεν καὶ φυλάττοιμεν* it is *πλοῖα* alone, and not *μακρὰ πλοῖα*, that must be supplied. 'If therefore we were to ask for the loan of some ships of war, and (by this means) bring the craft into harbour and detain them there, unshipping their rudders...we should probably secure the necessary means of conveyance.'

*τὰ πηδάλια παραλύμενοι*] The object of this manoeuvre, the nature of which has been fully explained by Prof. Paley in his note to *Eur. Hel.* 1536, was of course to render escape impossible.

§ 12. ἐνόησατε...εἰ εἰκός] 'bethink you whether it be not right,' a construction which occurs again in *III. 2. 22 σκέψασθε εἰ ἄρα τοῦτο καὶ μωρότατον πεποιήκασιν οἱ βάρβαροι*, where I have discussed it in a note as peculiar to Xenophon and objectionable for the ambiguity which it causes in the sense.

*ναῦλον ξυνθέσθαι*] 'to come to terms with them about the price of the passage.' It is not impossible however that *ναῦλον* may be used in the more general sense of 'pay,' as, independent of what they were to receive in the shape of passage-money, the crews would probably require some compensation for the loss of time caused by their detention in harbour.

§ 13. ἢ ἄρα] 'if, as may possibly be the case, these efforts on

our part should prove unsuccessful.' On the authority of three good MSS Bornemann endeavours to defend the reading ἀρκεί in place of ἀρκείν. The two passages however which he quotes in support of his theory (Isocr. *Soph.* 3 p. 504, and Xen. *R. eq.* VI. 13) are with reason objected to by Kühner, as in both cases the statements have reference to realised facts.

ταῖς παρὰ θαλάτταν οἰκουμέναις] For the accusative see III. 1. 1.

§§ 14—end. *The assembly declines to entertain the question of a land journey, in consequence of which Xenophon makes private arrangements with the inhabitants for the repair of the roads. Dexippus a Spartan, and Polycrates an Athenian, receive each the command of a galley. Defection of Dexippus, and death of Cleaneus in a foray.*

§ 14. ἐπεψήφισε μὲν οὐδέν] 'put nothing formally to the vote.' Ἐπιψήφισεν with an accusative occurs again in VII. 3. 14, and the addition is so common with every class of verb as scarcely to need comment, had not ἐπεψήφισε μὲν οὐ, ἐπὶ δὲ πόλεσι been proposed as an emendation. That no change is necessary is sufficiently proved by Dindorf, who further suggests that ἐπὶ δὲ πόλεσι would be questionable Greek in place of the more usual ἐπὶ δὲ τῶν πόλεων.

§ 15. περίοικον] 'a Lacedæmonian provincial.' The *periæci* were the free inhabitants of the towns round Sparta, and consisted in a great measure of the native population who had given place to their conquerors. They were excluded from civil but not from military offices, and held a position midway between the Spartans (or *ῥημιοὶ*) on the one hand and the Helots and Neodamods on the other. For further information see in particular Grote, *Arn. Thuc.* I. 101, Valck. *Herod.* IX. 11, and *Phil. Mus.* II. p. 63.

ἐξω τοῦ Πόντου] Amongst other places, as Kühner points out, Byzantium is meant, where Dexippus endeavoured to prejudice Xenophon and the Greek army in the eyes of Anaxibius and Clearchus (VI. 1. 32, VI. 6. 9).

πολυπραγμονῶν τι] The same class of accusative which we have noticed above in reference to ἐπεψήφισε μὲν οὐδέν, the precise meaning of which it is often difficult to determine. Thus πολυπραγμονεῖν τι may mean either (1) to do *some one thing* in a meddlesome way, or (2) to be meddlesome in many things *after some one fashion*: while the same ambiguity is found in the case of ἐπεψήφισεν οὐδέν which may equally well be rendered 'he put no formal question,' or 'he did not put that particular question *in any form*.'

§ 16. κατήγεν] The optative and the imperfect are alike frequentative in force.

χρήσαντο] So Kühner alone on the authority of the four leading MSS, while ἐχρήσαντο, which is adopted by the rest of the editors, he regards as an attempt to reduce the sentence to a grammatical form, and defends the reading of the text on the following grounds. Τῷ δὲ πλοῖσις εἰς παραγωγὴν ἐχρώωντο would, he thinks, have been the regular form of the words, had not the author, as the sentence was in progress, diverted by a species of attraction the verb of the leading clause into the mood of the subordinate.

Ingenious as the above explanation undoubtedly is, I can yet see no objection to the simpler expedient of making *χρήσαντο* depend like *εἴη* directly upon *ὅπως*, in which case the verb *χρήσαντο* will refer more particularly to the idea contained in the words *τὰ ἀγῶγία ἐξαιρούμενοι*, 'they removed the cargoes to make the ships available for cruising work along the coast.'

*εἰς παραγωγὴν*] Not, I think, 'for the transmission of their troops,' as Sturz suggests, but 'for cruising work along the coast,' under which I would include the conveyance of provisions for the army, whether peaceably or by plundering from their neighbours. Kühner and Krüger consider that depredation was the sole object in view on the strength of a passage from Diod. XIV. 31, *ἐλήστανον τοὺς περιουκόντας βαρβάρους καὶ κατὰ γῆν καὶ κατὰ θάλατταν*.

## CHAPTER II.

§§ 1—3. *To increase their stock of supplies, Xenophon leads out half the army on an expedition against the Drila, who lay waste their own lands, and then take refuge in their principal strongholds.*

§ 1. *ἀπανθημερίσω*] 'to return the same day,' is one of the quasi-poetical compounds which form such a marked feature in the language of Xenophon.

*στράτεον*] which is the reading of the four best MSS, has been adopted by Kühner and the majority of the editors, on the ground that the variant *στράτευμα* does not imply the idea of a *camp*, which is clearly required by the context.

*εἰς Δρίλας*] A tribe who occupied a tract of country to the south of Trebizond, and whom Arrian under the name of *Δρίλλας* (*Periplus*, p. 123) confounds with the *Sanni* of a later date. Kühner however identifies the *Sanni* with the *Macrones* mentioned in IV. 8. 1.

*πολλοὶ...ἀθρόοι*] 'collected in numbers.'

§ 2. *αὐτοῖς*] is introduced *κατὰ σύνεσιν*, as *ὁπόθεν* in the previous clause is virtually equivalent to *εἰς τοὺτους ἀφ' ὧν*. Cf. Herod. IX. 1 *δοῦν δὲ ἐκαστοτε γίγνοιντο, τοὺτους παρελάμβανε*.

§ 3. *εἶναι ἐδόκει*] Kühner and Breitenbach adopt this order of the words on the authority of two leading MSS, while *ἐδόκει εἶναι* is preferred by Krüger, Bornemann, Schneider and others. The rhythm of the sentence is in favour of the reading in the text, while the usage of the historians, who with the exception of Thucydides preferred a natural to a rhythmic order, is distinctly in favour of *ἐδόκει εἶναι*.

§§ 4—16. *An attack made on the fort by two thousand light-armed troops fails, but, acting on their advice, Xenophon organises a regular assault which proves successful.*

§ 4. *προδραμόντες*] for which most of the MSS give *προτρέχοντες*, is found in the four leading MSS, though in two of them it appears

in the manifestly corrupt form *προσδραμόντες*. Tr. 'having outstripped the heavy-armed troops by five or six stadia.'

*δоруφору*] The editors are agreed in referring this word to casual members of the attacking party who had armed themselves thus for purposes of plunder rather than to some definite body of troops who were known by this name.

*εις δυσχιλους*] The preposition, though it does not appear in three of the leading MSS., has been restored by the majority of the editors on the assumption that it may easily have been merged in the first three letters of the word *δυσχιλους*.

§ 5. *αναβεβλημένη*] is usually regarded as a condensed expression. Thus Bornemann renders it 'fossa ducta humo egesta,' 'a trench, formed by throwing up the soil that came from it.' But there is little question that, in addition to the idea of a *trench*, the substantive *τάφος* suggested by implication an *agger*, the formation of which was a simultaneous process, and, if so, we need seek no further for an explanation of the participle *αναβεβλημένη*. The ambiguity of the word *τάφος* has been exactly reproduced in our modern use of the term 'dyke.'

*ἐπὶ τῆς ἀναβολῆς*] Cf. *ἀμβολὰς γῆ* (*Cyrop.* VII. 5. 12), and also the phrase *δικέλλης ἐκβολή*, 'earth thrown up by spade,' which appears in Soph. *Antig.* 250.

*ἀπένανθ' ἃ ἐπεχείρουν*] 'so they attempted to retire.'

§ 6. *ἀποτρέχειν*] This verb is peculiarly applicable to denote the quick retreat of a light-armed force, and doubly so if we revert to the commencement of § 4, *προδραμόντες στάδια πέντε ἢ ἑξ τῶν ὀπιλιῶν*.

*ἐφ' ἑνὸς*] 'in single file.' *De fronte aut latitudine dictum est*, Krüg., who compares *Cyr.* II. 4. 2. It is also used of *depth*. Cf. I. 2. 15, *ἐτάχθησαν οὖν ἐπὶ τεττάρων*.

§ 7. *ὁ δ' ἐλθὼν*] i.e. *ὁ πρὸς Ξενοφῶντα πεμφθεὶς*, as we may easily gather from the preceding section.

§ 8. *θέσθαι...τὰ ὅπλα*] 'to stand to their arms.' See Grote on Thuc. II. 2. The phrase *θέσθαι τὰ ὅπλα* will be found fully explained in the note to the words *ἐν τῷ ὁμαλῷ* (IV. 2. 16). Its force in the present instance will correspond with the second of the proposed renderings.

*ὡς ἀλόντος ἀν τοῦ χωρίου*] 'in the hope that by so doing the place might be taken.' The construction will be found fully explained in Jelf, § 429. 3, the *ἀν* of course implying the hypothesis *εἰ οὗτοι διαβιβάζουτο* or *εἰ τοῦτο γίγνοιτο*. The participle with *ἀν* being a recognised usage in these conditional clauses, it is hardly necessary to say, with Kühner and Macmichael, that *ὡς ἀλόντος ἀν* stands for *νομίζοντα ὅτι ἀλοίη ἀν*.

§ 9. *ἀνευ πολλῶν νεκρῶν*] The entire sentence is eminently characteristic of Xenophon's style, as it is simple even to baldness. 'For a retreat was judged to be an impossibility without incurring a heavy loss, while the captains on their part thought they could take the place.'

*ἀποδοδεγμένοι ἦσαν*] This use of the perfect passive in place of the perfect middle is particularly common in Demosthenes, e.g. *πεποίηται* (*κατ' Ἀνδροτ.* 617). Occasionally (as in *Anab.* I. 6. 9) we find the substantive *γνώμη* added, and as a rule without the article, the omission of which

may be justified on the same grounds as the omission of the substantive, i.e. that the verb had become a recognised part of this particular phrase, and therefore required no substantive to explain and no article to limit its meaning. By a corresponding idiom we find the subject often omitted with the verbs *κηρύσσειν*, *σαλπίζειν*, *γραμματεῦν* and the like.

*ἔσται*] For the substitution of this mood in place of the optative see note on *δέλθαι* (IV. 1. 3) and again on *ἔσται* (IV. 3. 29). The construction is usually explained as an easy and natural transition from the oblique to the direct narration without any particular reason being suggested in each case for the change. This does not, I think, sufficiently explain the successive alterations of mood which appear in Thuc. III. 22 and in the passage quoted above from the *Anabasis* (IV. 1. 3). In these and similar cases the author evidently resorts to the indicative with the intention of giving greater reality to the idea he is contemplating.

§ 11. *ἐκαστὸν*] is to be taken with *τῶν λοχαγῶν*, 'he directed each of his captains to form his men in whatever order he thought they would fight to the best advantage.' *Ποιᾶν* is the regular word which Xenophon uses in this connexion (e.g. IV. 8. 14), and it is difficult to imagine how the idea of 'influencing their men by a speech,' to which Kühner objects, can ever have been seriously suggested as an explanation.

*περὶ ἀνδραγαθίας ἀντεποιούντο*] The somewhat similar phrase *δορεῖς μεταποιεῖσθαι* is used by Thucydides in his account of the Plague (II. 51). Agasias, who was one of the *λοχαγοί* in question, is mentioned in terms of similar praise in IV. 1. 27, and again in IV. 7. 11.

§ 12. *δεήσων*] On the authority of four good MSS, Kühner and Breitenbach have omitted this accusative absolute after *ἀκοιτίζειν*, retaining it, however, with the second verb *τοξεύειν*. It is almost impossible that it can have been introduced by the author with both infinitives, and equally impossible to regard it as understood with the first verb *ἀκοιτίζειν*, which is Kühner's suggestion. That its place is with the first infinitive, from which it can readily be supplied with the second, is almost a self-evident fact, nor need we hesitate to restore it to its proper position in the sentence, as it clearly formed part of the text and has simply been misplaced in some of the MSS through ignorance or carelessness.

The expressions *διηγκυλωμένους* and *ἐπιβεβλήσθαι ἐπὶ ταῖς νευραῖς* will be found fully explained in a note on IV. 3. 28, where they occur again in close connexion.

*τοὺς γυμνήτας*] It is most unusual to find *γυμνήτας* used thus in contradistinction with *τοξότας* and *ἀκοιτίστας*, both of which terms it usually includes.

*ἐπιμεληθῆναι*] i.e. *ὥστε ἐπιμεληθῆναι*, nor can I at all agree with Kühner's suggestion that the infinitive depends on *ἐπιτηδεύειν*. The use of the article with *ἐπιτηδεύειν*, the position of *ἐπιμεληθῆναι*, and the rhythm of the entire sentence are all in favour of our translating the passage thus: 'he sent fit persons to superintend these arrangements.'

§ 13. *οἱ ὑπολοχαγοί*] The best editors understand this word as equivalent to *πεντηκοστῆρες*. Cf. III. 4. 21.



ξυνεώρων] 'and of course had a connected view of one another.' Krüger objects to the introduction of the particles *μὲν δὲ* in the present instance on the ground that they make the assertion unnecessarily strong. But considering the explanation which immediately follows, and the corresponding passage in *Cyrop.* III. 3. 48 (*ἔλεγον, ὅτι.....καὶ παρακλενύοιτο μὲν δὲ τοῖς αἰὶ ἔξω οὔσι πολλὰ*), Kühner is probably right in retaining them after the best MSS. The admirable emendation *μνησιδῆς* has been generally accepted by the editors in place of *μνησιδῆς* which is the reading of all the best MSS, and the alteration is confirmed by Poppo, who points out that in *Thuc.* II. 76 one of the MSS exhibits precisely the same corruption. The reading of the text is illustrated by Krüger from *Herod.* VIII. 16, *οἱ δὲ βάρβαροι μνησιδῆς ποιήσαντες τῶν νεῶν ἐκυκλέοντο, ὡς περιλάβοιεν αὐτοὺς.*

§ 14. *ἅμα τε*] These words introduce the apodosis to the passage contained in § 13, the construction having been broken in the meantime by an explanatory parenthesis, and by the insertion of the additional clause *ἐπεὶ δ' ἐπαίδυνσαν κ.τ.λ.*

*τῷ Ἐνυαλίῳ*] Cf. I. 8. 18, *ἐφθέγγαντο πάντες οἷον περ τῷ Ἐνυαλίῳ ἐλελίζουσι.* In this instance the *ἀλαλή* is clearly distinguished from the *paean*, while they are apparently regarded as identical by the scholiast on *Thuc.* I. 50, who says that an engagement was preceded by a *paean* to *Enyalios*, and followed by one to *Apollo*. The *ἀλαλή* was in fact the war-cry, while the *paean* was a prayer or a thanksgiving for victory.

Students will observe the change of tense from the aorist *ἠλάλαξαν* to the imperfects *ἔθειον* and *ἐφέρετο*.

*ὁμοῦ*] for which Poppo and Dindorf read *ὁμόσε*, hardly requires the elaborate defence of Kühner. '*Ὀμόσε* could only mean that the missiles met in mid air, a fact on which Xenophon would not have wasted his words.

§ 15. *ἀναβεβήκει*] 'had got up *without aid*.' A similar omission of the augment (*τετήκει*) is found in IV. 5. 15.

§ 16. *ἔξω*] Notice the proleptic use of *ἔξω*, 'kept them out.' The order of the words is of course as follows; *ὁπόσους τῶν ὀπλιτῶν ἐδύνάτο (κατακώλυειν) ἔξω κατεκώλυσε.*

§§ 17—27. *The Greeks are still harassed by a portion of the enemy entrenched within the citadel, whom they finally dislodge by firing the surrounding buildings.*

§ 17. *καὶ ἔχοντες*] 'actually retaining what they had taken.' For this intensifying force of *καὶ*, see a note on *καὶ πάλιν* (IV. 2. 13). It is scarcely necessary to point out that *τάχα* is used in the sense of *τῶς*, 'and it may be that one or two were wounded.' I see however that one of the editors is at pains to prove that it means 'presently.'

*οἱ ἐκπίπτοντες*] We can scarcely compare this expression with *τοὺς πίπτοντας τῶν ἀνθρώπων* (IV. 5. 7), where I have objected to the phrase as an unnatural one if we take into consideration the meaning of the verb. We can speak of a body of men as simultaneously engaged in *playing, fighting* and the like, but such an expression as *οἱ πίπτοντες* appears to me indefensible.

§ 18. *τοὺς ἐκπίπτοντας*] This includes the Greek troops who were

in retreat from the town and the Drilæ who were in pursuit of them.

§ 19. ἐξεκομίσαντο] The accusative may be readily supplied from the word πάντα above. For ἔθεντο τὰ δπλα see note on § 8.

§ 21. τὴν ἀφοδὸν] 'Thereupon they commenced their preparations for the retreat, and each party proceeded to pull down the palisading in their neighbourhood,' the object being to increase the facilities of egress.

Observe the distinction between ἕκαστος and ἕκαστοι, and compare Thuc. II. 39, 'never have the Lacedæmonians met us with only a part of their forces.' For the phrase τοὺς καθ' αὐτοὺς see note on διαχάσσοντας (IV. 8. 18) and Thuc. VII. 78. It is often used as in the present instance to denote what is stationed at (i.e. over against) a person or thing.

καὶ τοὺς ἀχρεοῦς] for which we might have expected τοὺς δὲ ἀχρεοῦς after the preceding μέν, is easily explicable, as no antithesis is intended between τοὺς μὲν σταυροὺς...διήρουν and τοὺς ἀχρεοῦς ἐξεπέμποντο, the particle μὲν being intended simply to emphasize what follows. The word ἀχρεοῦς is equivalent to ἀχρήστους in III. 4. 26, and for the middle ἐξεπέμποντο compare ἀπεπεμψάμεθα, Dem. κατὰ Κορ. § 1257, 'we caused the slaves to be removed.'

καταλιπόντες] i.e. καταλιπόντες ἐκείνους οἱ ἕκαστος ἐπίστευεν. There is a slight difficulty caused in this passage by the position of the words καταλιπόντες οἱ λοχαγοί. They cannot certainly be taken with the verbs παρεσκευάζοντο and διήρουν, while to connect them with ἐξεπέμποντο necessitates a sudden change of nominative and does not explain their position in the sentence. I prefer therefore to understand them as a nominative absolute, which is very frequently added thus towards the close of a paragraph.

§ 22. κράνη Πάφλαγονικά] These were of leather, as we find from V. 4. 13, and πεπλεγμένα according to Herod. VII. 72.

§ 23. ἡ νύξ...ἐπιούσα] 'the approach of night alarmed them.' In the following section Macmichael calls attention to the occurrence of an iambic line: Θεῶν τις αὐτοῖς μηχανὴν σωτηρίας. Although the participle ἀπορούμενος is found in Dem. κατὰ Κορ. § 1260 in a passive sense, 'when my life was almost despaired of,' ἀπορουμένων is no doubt to be taken as equivalent to ἀπορούωντων in the present passage.

§ 24. οὐοὺ δὴ ἐνάψαντο] Cf. οὐοὺ δὴ παρεγγυήσαντο (IV. 7. 25). For the use of the preposition in the phrase οἱ ἀπὸ τῶν ἐν δεξιᾷ οἰκίων, which is a condensed expression for οἱ ἐπὶ τῶν οἰκίων ὄντες ἐκ τούτων ἐφειγον, compare IV. 2. 19 πάντες οἱ ἐκ τούτου τοῦ τόπου συνεβρύσαν.

§ 26. οἱ δὲ κατὰ στόμα] 'the enemy in the front.' White's interpretation of this passage, which implies that the Greeks were retreating without confronting the foe, is manifestly inconsistent with the words οἱ κατὰ στόμα.

ἀμφὶ ταῦτα ἔχουσι] 'might have their attention turned that way.' The expression occurs again in III. 5. 14. In the *Bell. Gall.* II. 7, Cæsar gives an account of a similar stratagem which was practised upon him by the Bellovaci: in addition to which many of Xenophon's words and phrases are suggestive of the passage in which Thucydides

describes the attempt made on Platæa by the Lacedæmonians (Bk. II. § 77), although the object of the manoeuvre in that case was entirely different.

§§ 28—end. *The expedient devised by Mysus for the protection of the Greeks during their return to the camp.*

§ 29. Μυσὸς τὸ γένος] ‘a Mysian by birth and called too by that name,’ a passage which is exactly illustrated in Luc. *Tox.* 28, οἰκίτης αὐτοῦ Σύρος καὶ τοῦνομα καὶ τὴν πατρίδα. That the practice was an ordinary one with the Greeks is clear from the plays of Plautus where such proper names as *Persa*, *Cappadox*, &c. are of common occurrence.

δέκα] The reading δέκα is a doubtful one, though adopted by the best editors including Kühner, Dindorf, and Poppo. It appears in four of the MSS including three of the best, while the majority give τέτταρας ἢ πέντε. Bornemann, while objecting to this latter number as too small for the purpose, thinks that the original reading was probably τέτταρας ἢ πέντε καὶ δέκα.

προσπειροῖτο] ‘made as though he were endeavouring to avoid the enemy’s notice.’

ἄλλοτε καὶ ἄλλοτε] is adopted by Kühner and Bornemann after five of the leading MSS, while the rest point (with variations) to the reading ἄλλη καὶ ἄλλη. Considering the context, and that the object of the stratagem was to give an exaggerated idea of the numbers concealed, I am strongly inclined to read ἄλλη καὶ ἄλλη, which, notwithstanding Kühner’s assertion to the contrary, places this fact in a far stronger light than the alternative reading ἄλλοτε καὶ ἄλλοτε, ‘their shields gleamed through now and then.’

§ 30. ὑπεληλυθέναι] ‘and when Mysus thought that his friends had got far enough on their way.’ Dindorf is almost the only editor of note who joins τῷ Μυσῷ with what follows, and understands ὁ Ξενοφῶν as the subject of ἐσήμνη. The strongest argument in favour of this punctuation, though unnoticed by Kühner, is the introduction of δ, in the succeeding clause, which is almost superfluous if we regard ὁ Μυσὸς as the nominative to ἐσήμνη.

The preposition in the compound ὑπεληλυθέναι very often gives this idea of *secrecy* and *stealthiness*. The tense of the verb, no less than the circumstances of the case, are against our understanding it of a *slow* or *measured* retreat, while I do not appreciate the force of Macmichael’s rendering, ‘when he thought they had gone *from under* far enough.’

§ 31. ἀλίσκεσθαι γὰρ ἔφασαν τῷ δρόμῳ] with which Kühner well compares οὐκ ἔφασαν πορεύεσθαι (IV. 5. 15), is simply the statement of the men at the time of the occurrence, and not (as Krüger understands it) their account of the matter after they had returned to the camp. In the direct narration these words would have been as follows: εἰ τρέψομεν, ἔφασαν, ἀλίσκόμεθα, while the present infinitive is used in place of the future, as in the passage referred to above, to give additional prominence to the certainty of the result.

καλιπρούμενοι] Kühner notices this form as less common than κυλιπρούμενοι but in occasional use with even the best writers.

§ 32. ἐπὶ πῶδα ἀνεχώρουν] ‘retreated backwards,’ i. e. with their face to the foe, which is the usual signification of the phrase, the idea of

'slowly,' 'step by step,' being quite a secondary and derived one. Cf. *Cyrop.* VII. 5. 6, ἀπῆσαν, ὥς μὲν ἐκκρεῖτο τὰ βέλη ἀπὸ τοῦ τείχους, ἐπὶ πόδα· ἐπεὶ δὲ ἐξω βελῶν ἐγένοντο, στραφέντες.

In the concluding sentence of the section πᾶρες refers to the entire party who had joined in the original foray and not merely to the handful of men with Mysus.

## CHAPTER III.

§§ 1—3. *As Cheirisophus had not returned and supplies were failing them, the Greeks proceeded by land with the exception of the feeblest of their number, who were conveyed on ship-board under charge of Philesius and Sophanetus. Arrival at Cerasus, where they remained for ten days and a review of the troops took place.*

§ 2. Κερασούντα] The site of this place is not identical with that of the modern *Kirasunt*, which is more than sixty miles from Trebizond, and could hardly have been reached by the Greeks in a three days' march, even in their present unencumbered state. More probably the town was situated in a watered valley bearing the same name (*Kirasun Darah su*) and thickly planted with cherry trees, whence Lucullus is supposed to have introduced the fruit into Europe.

σὺν τοῖς ὅπλοις] for which ἐν τοῖς ὅπλοις is the more usual expression, is read by Kühner on the authority of the two leading MSS. It must be carefully noticed that the entire total ὀκτακισχίλιοι καὶ ἑξακόσιοι includes not merely the hoplites (who are stated in IV. 8. 15 to have numbered less than 8000 men) but all the armed troops of whatever class, baggage carriers and the crowd of camp-followers being alone excluded.

§ 3. (ἐκ τῶν ἀμφὶ τοῖς μυρίοις)] These words, which are omitted by Kühner on the authority of the three chief MSS, may I think have been due to a copyist who understood σὺν τοῖς ὅπλοις above as referring to the hoplites alone, the original number of whom was 10,400 according to the statement given in I. 7. 10. From the same passage we find that the rest of the troops under arms amounted to 2,500, thus raising the combined total to 12,900, a number too large to be referred to in the phrase ἀμφὶ τοῖς μυρίοις, at any rate in a passage where we may fairly expect the author to have been precise in his language.

ἐλ τις νόσῳ] *sub.* ἀπώλετο, with which Kühner compares in Latin *et si quis morbo* (perit) and similar phrases. The expression is characteristic of the Greek language in which acknowledged facts are often stated in a hypothetical form, even when there is no suggestion, as there is in the present instance, of a limited application. 'The remainder died in battle or from the effects of the snow, and *some few perhaps* from disease.'

§§ 4—end. *The prisoners are sold and the proceeds divided, a portion being reserved for a thank-offering to Apollo and Artemis. An account by anticipation of Xenophon's exile at Scillus, and of the uses to which he applied his share of the prize-money.*

§ 4. τὸ ἀπὸ τῶν ἀλγυ. ἀργ. γερ.] 'the money which arose from the sale of the captives.' Students will observe the position of the sub-

stantive ἀργύριον which by a common idiom is made to precede the participle, a completeness being thus given to the combined phrase which could not have been obtained by closing it with a substantive.

(καὶ) διέλαβον] Three good MSS which Kühner follows retain the καὶ, and, if we accept this reading, we must take the verbs ἐξείλον...καὶ διέλαβον in close connexion, making the accusative δεκάτην depend on διαλαμβάνουσι in the previous clause. There would be no valid objection to this reading and punctuation if it were not for the position of the words καὶ τῇ Ἐφεσίᾳ Ἀρτέμιδι. As it is, the connexion of ἐξείλον...καὶ διέλαβον is made so awkward by their insertion that I have not hesitated to omit the καὶ with the majority of the editors, regarding the accusative δεκάτην as dependent on the verb διέλαβον.

Νέων δ' Ἀσινάϊος] who, as we gather from v. 6. 36, had been his ὑποστρατηγός.

Asines was a town on the coast of Laconia.

§ 5. τὸ μὲν τοῦ Ἀπολλῶνος] *sub. μέρος*, as the corresponding phrase τὸ δὲ τῆς Ἀρτέμιδος which follows clearly shows. It is not equally plain, however, how the words are governed, whether by ποιησάμενος 'caused an offering to be made out of the share due to Apollo,' or, as is less probable, by ἀνατίθηναι 'dedicates the share due unto Apollo, having caused an offering to be made.'

τὸν...τῶν Ἀθηναίων θησαυρὸν] These private treasures, which might be secured either by a nation or an individual, are noticed by Herodotus and also by Strabo (IX. p. 420).

§ 6. τὴν εἰς Βοιωτοῦς ὁδὸν] In allusion to the expedition which Agesilaus in conjunction with the Thebans undertook against the Athenians, and which culminated in the fight at Coronea, B. C. 394.

Μεγαβύζῳ] This, as may be gathered from Lucian and other writers, was the common title of the priests and guardians of Diana's temple at Ephesus.

The words μετὰ Ἀγησιλάου ἐν Κορωνείᾳ are, as Kühner points out, an evident interpolation, if only from the fact that at the period to which Xenophon is referring it would have been impossible for him to forecast the battle of Coronea.

ἢν δέ τι πάθῃ] A euphemism for ἢν ἀποθάνῃ. Except in the case of the three leading MSS *ei δέ τι πάθῃ* is the recognised reading of the sentence, though Kühner rightly rejects it, as the usual distinction between the subjunctive and the optative would be perfectly out of place in a passage like the present.

αναθεῖναι ποιησάμενον] 'to get some offering made with it which he thought would find favour with Artemis and dedicate it to her.'

§ 7. ἔφυγεν] I have not ventured to follow Kühner in deserting this reading (which is found in all but two of the MSS) in favour of the more obvious tense *ἔφηνεν*. Moreover Thirlwall's defence of the text appears to me entirely satisfactory, who regards *ἐπεὶ δ' ἔφυγεν κ.τ.λ.* as equivalent in sense to *ἐπεὶ φηγὰς ὦν κατώκει*, the matter of the banishment being in his idea a merely incidental statement in connexion with the residence at Scillus and therefore naturally expressed by the aorist *ἔφυγεν*.

According to Diog. Laer. (II. § 51) Xenophon was banished *ἐκ*

Λακωνισμό, while the present passage might seem to imply that the immediate cause was his connexion with Agesilaus in the above-mentioned expedition to Boeotia. On the other hand if we accept the statement of Pausanias (v. 6. 4), comparing with it Xenophon's own words in III. 1. 5 and VII. 7. 57, we shall probably agree with Thirlwall who finds the cause of his banishment in his attachment to the service of Cyrus.

ἐν Σκιλλοῦντι] Scillus was in Elis near Olympia, where an estate had been assigned to Xenophon by the Lacedæmonians.

οἰκισθέντος] Kühner is no doubt right in retaining οἰκισθέντος with all the mss, though his objection to the emendation οἰκισθέντι on the ground that we know nothing of the colonization of Scillus by Lacedæmon is anything but forcible. Nor again am I able to accept his suggestion that οἰκισθέντος may refer to Xenophon and be an equivalent for κατοικισθέντος, a usage of which he quotes no other example. Consequently, retaining οἰκισθέντος in the text, I should prefer to understand it as referring to Scillus, the genitive absolute being introduced thus by a very common idiom when it is required to give additional prominence or emphasis to a statement.

θεωρήσων] 'to be a spectator at the games.' By ὁ θεὸς Apollo is meant.

§ 8. καὶ ἐν Ἐφέσῳ δέ] For the position and force of δέ see note on καὶ πολλοὶ δέ (IV. 1. 13) and again on καὶ κλέψαι δέ (IV. 6. 13).

With θῆραι πάντων ὅσους... θηρία cf. VI. 3. 15 ἐκέλευε δὲ καλεῖν ἅπαντα, ὅτε ἐντυγχάνοιεν καυσίμῳ, i.e. ἅπαντα καύσιμα κ.τ.λ.

§ 9. καὶ τὸ λοιπὸν δέ δει] The adverb δει is purposely placed in an ambiguous position, although the rhythm of the sentence suggests that it is to be connected with what precedes 'and so for all future time' rather than with δεκατέων in the sense of 'on each occasion.'

ἰσοῦ ἀνδρες καὶ γυναῖκες] This position of the words, for which ἀνδρες ἰσοῦ καὶ γυναῖκες would have been more usual and also (considering the ambiguity caused by the previous nominatives) more natural, is illustrated by Kühner from Eur. *Herac.* 455, and Hom. *Od.* IX. 75.

λάχος] is used poetically for μέρος as in VI. 1. 2, 'a share of the victims taken from the sacred pasture and of the hunted animals as well.'

§ 10. εἰς τὴν ἐορτήν] 'about the time of the feast,' on the analogy of εἰς τὴν ὑστεραίαν and similar phrases, though it is possible to understand the preposition as meaning simply 'to meet the requirements of the feast.'

καὶ ἄνδρες] i.e. adults, as contrasted with οἱ ξενοφώντος παῖδες καὶ τῶν ἄλλων πολιτῶν.

Pholoe was the spur of a mountain range in Arcadia, closely overhanging Olympia, and according to Cramer identical with what is now known as *Mauvo Bouni*.

§ 11. ἦ] sc. τῇ ὁδῷ ἦ, 'now it lies on the road by which men travel from Lacedæmon to Olympia.' The reading ἡ χώρα is retained by Kühner after the four leading mss in preference to ὁ τόπος which appears in the majority. At the same time he is inclined to agree with Bornemann who thinks that both the one substantive and the other are interpolations by copyists.

§ 12. *ἄλσος*] which is akin to the Lat. *saltus*, is an open expanse or glen, while *ἡμερα δένδρα* are *salvia* or *feraces arbores*. The sentence which follows contains a good example of the *σχήμα κατὰ σύνεσιν* or *πρὸς τὸ σημαίνονμενον*, the phrase *ὅσα ἐστὶ τρωκτὰ ὠραία* being accommodated to the idea of *fruits*, which is suggested but not expressed in the words *ἡμέρων δένδρων ἐφιντεύθη*. The explanation which limits the use of the word *τρωκτὰ* to such fruits as are eaten raw by way of dessert is due to a commentary by Perizonius on *Ælian* (*V. H.* I. 31).

§ 13. *παρὰ τὸν ναόν*] This use of the preposition with an accusative in a passage where no idea of motion or extension is implied should be noticed as an irregularity on the part of the author. It may be fanciful to suggest that *ἐστῆκε παρὰ* possibly represents some idea like the following 'was (brought and) placed by the chapel.'

With *καταθύειν* supply *χρή* or some equivalent verb, which it is customary to omit in writing inscriptions, etc.

*ἐκ τοῦ περιττου*] 'from the residue,' while *ἐπισκευάζειν* is to 'repair,' 'refit,' according to the regular use of the compound.

## CHAPTER IV.

§§ 1—10. *On the arrival of the Greeks at the territory of the Mossynacci one portion of the inhabitants attempts to stop their progress while the other concludes an alliance with them.*

§ 1. *τοῖς Μοσσυνόκων ὄπλοις*] The *Mossynacci*, or *Mossyni* as Pliny styles them, were a tribe on the shores of the Euxine, situated between the *Tibareni* and the *Drilæ*, and their territory extended nearly seventy miles along the coast from the neighbourhood of *Trebisond* on the west as far as the district of *Pharnacia*. From *VIII.* 8. 25 we learn that they were independent of the Persian authority. It is said that they derived their name from *μόσσω* 'a wooden tower,' owing to the character of their dwellings.

*πρόξενον ὄντα*] The duties of the *proxenus*, which it is the fashion to compare carelessly with those of a consul in modern times, will be found fully discussed in Smith's *Dict. Antig.* under the word *hospitium*.

In addition to other essential points of difference, the *proxenus* was not a member of the nation whose interests he befriended, while as regards his place of residence and the primitive and unofficial character of his duties he had nothing in common with the consul of our times.

*δῆσοιεν*] 'they would not give them a passage.' This emendation of *Jacobs* is suggested by the reading *δεήσειεν* which appears in one good MS, and is now generally accepted in place of *διόσειεν* which is justly rejected by *Poppo* as a barbarous form. How constantly these verbs are interchanged in the MSS will be seen by referring to a note on the word *διόσουσιν* in *III.* 2. 23.

§ 3. *εἰσω αὐτοῖς*] Kühner follows three good MSS in reading *πολέμοι οὗτοι εἰσω*, but the introduction of the word *αὐτοῖς* is essential to the context, while his suggestion that *οὗτοι* is used in a *deictic* sense is

not I think borne out by the character of the passage. I have therefore without hesitation retained the ordinary reading with Bornemann.

οἱ ἐκ τοῦ ἐπέκεινα] 'the *Mossynæci* who dwell beyond them.'

εἰ βούλουτο] '(to see) whether they were willing.' For this construction see note on ὑποφειδόμενοι, εἰ πως ἐβελήσειαν...διέναι (IV. 1. 8), where I have quoted a still more striking example from Soph. *Antig.* 414.

§ 5. διασωθῆναι] Observe the force of the tense, 'to get safe through to Greece.' The MSS with the exception of four of the best give εἰς in place of πρός. The former is the preposition ordinarily used in this connexion, and the single instance to which Kühner appeals for his defence of the present combination (*Cyrop.* V. 4. 16, ἐσώζοντο πρός τὸ στρατόπεδον) is hardly a satisfactory vindication of the text, more especially as στρατόπεδον is virtually a noun of multitude.

§ 6. εἰ τί ποτε] for which εἰ τι πώποθ' is the ordinary reading, is adopted by Kühner after three MSS as the usual phrase when the proposition does not take a negative form.

ὑπηκόους εἶναι τούτους] We should naturally have expected ἔχειν in place of εἶναι, but the construction of the sentence is varied as if διαπράξεσθε or some other similar verb had preceded in place of the phrase ἐξεστὶν ὑμῖν.

§ 7. αὐθις] The authority of two MSS, and those not the best, is not sufficient to warrant Kühner in defying euphony by reading αὖ for αὐθις.

§ 9. τί ἡμῶν δεήσεσθε χρήσασθαι] A combination of two constructions, (i.) τί ἡμῶν δεήσεσθε, and (ii.) τί δεήσεσθε ἡμῖν χρήσασθαι, with which compare a very similar passage from Soph. *Trach.* 57,

...εἰ πατρός

νέμοι τιν' ὦραν τοῦ καλῶς πράσσειν δοκεῖν.

And another from Soph. *Antig.* 490,

...τήνδε γὰρ

ἐπαιτιῶμαι τοῦδε βουλευσαί τάφου.

In the majority of these cases another and perhaps a simpler explanation is admissible, viz. to regard the infinitive as expegetical (e.g. τί ἡμῶν δεήσεσθε, ὥστε χρήσασθαι), but in the passage quoted above from the *Trachiniae* the addition of the article τοῦ with the infinitive δοκεῖν is a strong argument in favour of the former interpretation.

§ 10. ἐκ τοῦ ἐπὶ θάτερα] 'from the further side,' corresponding to the expression οἱ ἐκ τοῦ ἐπέκεινα in § 3.

§§ 11—18. *Some of the Greek troops acting in concert with their new allies suffer a heavy loss.*

§ 11. μονόξυλα] 'hollowed out of a single tree.'

§ 12. οἱ μὲν] 'the occupants of the boats,' while οἱ δὲ refers to the men who had landed.

ἀνὰ ἑκατὸν μάλιστα] 'in parties of nearly a hundred,' as in cases where the numeral is rendered indefinite by the addition of μάλιστα the estimate is usually overstated rather than the reverse. As regards the text of this passage I have adopted the reading of Dindorf, which appears in one of the MSS, and is suggested in another. It is also approved of by Kühner, who in his criticism on other proposed altera-



tions observes that the point of comparison does not lie in the numerical strength of the troops but in the position which they took up (*ἀντιστοιχοῦντες ἀλλήλοις*).

*ἐκασμένα* Kühn., but, as he admits that the form given in the text is uniformly preferred by Xenophon and Thucydides, while only two of the MSS give a trace of the reading *ἡκασμένα*, I have preferred to follow the majority of the editors.

*ὀπισθεν δὲ τοῦ ξύλου* 'behind (i.e. at the bottom of) the shaft itself.' This reading and explanation is adopted by Kühner, but the expression *ὀπισθεν τοῦ ξύλου* is so strange a one that I am inclined to prefer Krüger's rendering of the passage, who regards *τοῦ ξύλου* as a genitive of quality or material on the analogy of the phrase *γέβρα δασειῶν βοῶν ὠμβόδια* which occurs in IV. 7. 22. If we accept this interpretation there can be no objection to our retaining the reading *αὐτοῦ τοῦ ξύλου* which is found in the majority of the MSS. In either case the sense is clear, viz. that the butt end of the spear-handle was spherical instead of being fitted with the usual spike (*στυράξ* or *σαυρώτηρ*).

§ 13. *ὑπὲρ γονάτων* 'short tunics not reaching so low as the knee.' For the word *στρωματοδέσμου*, a sack for packing bed-clothes, cf. Arist. *Fragm.* 249, and the well-known passage in Plat. *Theat.* § 84. The construction of the genitive, which Kühner regards as dependent on *χιτωνίσκου*, I should prefer to explain by the analogy of a corresponding passage in IV. 5. 25, *εἰκλῆαι δ' ἦσαν...τὸ μὲν στόμα ὥσπερ φρέατος*, i.e. *ἦσαν τὸ μὲν στόμα ὥσπερ (στόμα) φρέατος*.

*κρῶβυλον*] is explained by the scholiast on the *locus classicus* (Thuc. I. 6) as *εἶδος πλέγματος τῶν τριχῶν, ἀπὸ ἐκατέρων, εἰς ὃν καταλήγον*.

*ἐγγύτατα τιαιοειδῆ*] So Kühner with four good MSS, while the majority give *ἐγγυτάτω τιαιοειδῆ*. Both the one phrase and the other appear to me to be vulgarisms, indefensible by any laws of grammar, and the editors are apparently driven to the same conclusion, as Zeune denies the possibility of *ἐγγύτατα* being used absolutely, while Kühner and Schneider make the same objection to *ἐγγυτάτω*.

§ 14. *ἐξηρχε*] sc. *παῖδνα*. The verb is particularly appropriate in consideration of the word *χοροὶ* above, the leader of the chorus being known technically as the *ἐξαρχος* or *κορυφαῖος*.

*ἔδοντες ἐν ῥυθμῷ* 'marched keeping time with their song.' In most of the MSS the participle precedes the verb *ἐπορεύοντο*, while in either case it must be noticed that the words *ἐν ῥυθμῷ* refer as much to *ἐπορεύοντο* as to *ἔδοντες*.

*διὰ τῶν τάξεων καὶ διὰ τῶν ὁπλῶν*] Kühner understands these words as a *hendiadys* 'through the ranks of the Greeks who were drawn up under arms.' There is nothing however to prevent our taking *ὁπλῶν* in the simpler sense of the 'camp' or 'quarters' of the troops.

§ 15. *τὸ ἀκρότατον* 'the highest ground in the territory of the *Mossynæci*.' For the use of *del* in the sense of 'from time to time,' see note on τὸ ὑπερβάλλον (IV. 1. 7). The subject of *ἔφασαν* is the *Mossynæci* who were in alliance with the Greeks: 'they said that its present holders were not entitled to the possession of it, but had seized it when it was common property for their own advantage.'

§ 16. *προσέωντων* 'while the foe was approaching.'

§ 17. *ᾠμῶ τιλῖ δδωτες*] 'singing to a kind of tune.'

§§ 19—29. *The troops are encouraged by an address from Xenophon, and on the following day make a successful attack on the citadel.*

§ 20. *ὡςπερ*] i.e. *πολέμοι εἰσι (τούτοις) ὡςπερ καὶ ἡμᾶς (πολεμῶντες) εἶναι ἀνάγκη*.

*ὁ ἀμελήσαντες*] is the reading of the five leading MSS, while the rest give the participle *ἀφροντιστήσαντες* which Kühner thinks may be accounted for by the practice of substituting recondite words in place of more ordinary ones. He might also have added that *ἀφροντιστήσαντες* from its formation &c. is little likely to have suggested the need of a gloss like *ἀμελήσαντες*.

*τῆς σὺν ἡμῖν τάξεως*] is not 'the discipline which prevails in our ranks,' as it is usually translated, but rather 'their post at our side,' in contrast with the words *σὺν τοῖς βαρβάροις* which follow.

§ 22. *ὀρθλοὺς τοὺς λόχους*] See note on IV. 2. 11.

(*ὀρθίῳ*)] Kühner retains this word on the authority of three good MSS. As a predicate its position in the sentence appears to me indefensible, and one of the best MSS, I find, omits it altogether.

*τοῦ στόματος*] The genitive depends on *ὑπολειπομένους*, 'though falling a little short of the front line of the hoplites,' i.e. they were not perfectly on a level with the hoplites when viewed from the front.

§ 23. *ἀνέστέλλον*] A poetical word, 'held in check.'

*ἐτρέφθησαν*] This rare form of the aorist occurs again in *Hell.* III. 4. 14, and expresses more clearly than *ἐτρέψαν* would have done the forced and compulsory character of their flight.

§ 24. *ἐδέξαντο...ἐμάχοντο...ἐτρέποντο*] Observe in translating these successive changes of tense.

§ 25. *ἡμοῦ δὴ πάντες γενόμενοι*] 'having now at last joined all their forces.' For *ἐκ χειρὸς*, 'hand to hand,' cf. *Soph. Aj.* 27,

*ἐκ χειρὸς αὐτοῖς ποιμνίων ἐπιστάταις*.

§ 26. *φυλάττοντα*] i.e. *τὸ χωρίον (τὴν μητρόπολιν)*. Brunck's emendation *φυλάττονσι*, though sanctioned by Poppo, is rejected by Kühner as an endeavour to make Xenophon's narrative conform too precisely with the later accounts of Diodorus and Pomponius Mela, according to whom the king of the Mossynœci was treated as a prisoner of state.

*οὐδὲ οἱ*] *οὐδὲ ὁ* is read by Bornemann, Macmichael and others on the authority of two good MSS, but, as Kühner observes, no mention has been made of a second head of the tribe.

§ 27. *πατρίους*] i.e. *paternos*, Kühner, but, as I have mentioned in a note on III. 2. 16, I cannot altogether accept this rendering of the adjective. 'After the fashion of their people' is an equally satisfactory explanation, and certainly more in accordance with the regular usage of the word. The adjective *περυσινῶν*, which in some of the MSS follows the word *πατρίους*, is omitted by all the best editors as a manifest interpolation.

*ῥεῖαι αἱ πλείσται*] In this construction *ῥεῖαι* and *αἱ πλείσται* agree with the predicate *ῥεῖαι* by attraction instead of with *οἶτος*, the substantive to which they virtually refer.

§ 29. *τὰ πλατέα*] 'of the flat kind, having no division.' It is clear

from Salmasius that chestnuts are meant, the Latin name for which was derived from *Castana* in Thessaly, the first district in Greece where they were successfully cultivated.

τούτῳ καὶ πλείστῳ] 'this they used mainly for food.' The so-called emendation τούτοις καὶ πλείστον ὡς σίτῳ ἐχρῶντο is simply the paraphrase of an idiomatic sentence in an unidiomatic form, for, as in the case just noticed in § 27, τούτῳ is made by attraction to agree with σίτῳ instead of with its legitimate subject καρύοις.

§§ 30—end. *A description of the native towns and customs.*

§ 30. παρήσαν] 'came to in their progress,' according to the regular use of the verb. The arrangement of the clauses which follow is somewhat unskilful, more especially as regards the position of the words τὰ εὐπροσώτατα.

§ 31. ἀναβοώντων] This statement does not exclude the use of instruments to aid the voice, and, considering the nature of the ground, it is surely not impossible that people who were ten miles apart from each other by *road* might have made themselves heard across the valley.

§ 32. παῖδας τῶν εὐδαμόνων] Kühner is no doubt right in regarding εὐδαμόνων as equivalent to the Latin *beati* in the sense of 'rich.' It is not so clear however whether by παῖδας slaves are meant, or only the children of the wealthy classes. Kühner inclines to the latter view, but according to Diod. Sic. the practice was a more national one than this would imply.

ἐστιγμένους ἀνθήμα] 'tattooed with devices of flowers.' For the construction, which is simply a variation of the cognate accusative στίγειν στίγμα, compare in Greek δέλτων ἐγγεγραμμένῳ Συνηγήματα (Soph. *Trach.* § 157), and in Latin the Vergilian phrase *inscripti nomina regum Flores* (*Ecl.* III. 106).

§ 34. ἔλεγον] 'were in the habit of saying.' The editors notice this as one of the frequent attempts made by Xenophon to conceal his authorship of the *Anabasis*. The paragraph ἄλλως δὲ οὐκ ἐν τολμῶν, which Kühner includes in brackets, is not found in three of the chief MSS, and moreover destroys the balance of the clauses.

διελέγοντό τε αὐτοῖς] 'they talked to themselves, and laughed at themselves, and would stand and dance whenever the fancy took them.'

## CHAPTER V.

§§ 1—6. *The Greeks pass through the country of the Chalybes, and arrive at Cotyora in the territory of the Tibareni, where they remain for five-and-forty days.*

§ 1. ὀκτὼ σταδμοῖς] This statement, as in a similar instance (I. 2. 23), must be regarded as including the delay caused by fighting, negotiating, &c. no less than the time spent on the actual march.

εἰς Χάλυβας] These *Chalybes* were only a fragment of the nation already described in IV. 7. 15, and had been brought down from the mountain districts of Armenia to work the iron mines of the *Mossynæci*.

Hamilton, when he visited the neighbourhood of Cotyora, found that the mines were still worked in a superficial way.

§ 2. *πεδυνωτέρα*] In accordance with this epithet the *Tibareni* are described as *πολύβοηδες*, 'rich in flocks,' by Apollonius Rhodius (II. 377). Observe the change from *ἐθύοντο* in § 2 to *καταβυσάντων* in § 3, and compare, amongst other passages, IV. 6. 27 for the difference of meaning between *θύειν* (act.) and *θύεσθαι* (midd.).

§ 3. *Κοτύωρα*] This town was replaced by *Pharnacia*, which according to Strabo was built out of its spoils. Hamilton and Col. Chesney have identified the site with a town called *Ordu*, where there are traces of an ancient port: Ainsworth, however, places it at *Pershembah*.

§ 4. *ἐν Βαβυλῶνι*] i. e. in the neighbourhood or territory of Babylon. There are naturally slight discrepancies between this summary of the time spent on the *κατάβασις* and the more detailed account in the narrative. In the summary 122 marches are mentioned, in the narrative only 117, while instead of eight months only 208 days are accounted for in detail, or 223 if we include a halt of fifteen days at the villages in the plain (IV. 6) on the authority of Diod. Sic. XIV. 29.

§ 6. *ἐκ τῆς Παφλαγονίας*] An inaccurate use of the title, which may have arisen from the fact that the district in question was subject to a Paphlagonian prince.

§§ 7—end. *The inhabitants of Sinope, in their alarm at the depredations committed by the troops, send a deputation to Xenophon. His conciliatory speech in reply.*

§ 8. *νικάτε*] which is the historic present, is found in two good MSS, and Kühner is undoubtedly right in adopting it in place of *ἐνικάτε*. The aorist *ἐνίκησατε* would be defensible, but the imperfect could hardly be justified in the present connexion.

§ 9. *ὑπήρξαμεν*] *Ἐπάρχειν* is to 'take the initiative.' Cf. II. 3. 23, *ἐὰν μέντοι τις ἡμᾶς καὶ εὐ ποιῶν ὑπάρχη*.

§ 10. *Κοτυωρεῖται δὲ οὗτοι*] Kühner calls attention to the idiom by which the article is omitted when the demonstrative pronoun is added to a proper name.

§ 11. *ἐνίοις*] 'per appositionem partitivam additum est,' Kühn., while *ὑμᾶς* is the anticipatory accusative referring to the troops as a whole. For similar instances cf. II. 1. 15, *οὗτοι μὲν, ᾧ Κλέαρχε, ἄλλος ἄλλα λέγει*, and v. 6. 30, *ὥστε λαβόντας ὑμᾶς πόλιν, τὸν μὲν βουλόμενον ἀποπλεῖν, τὸν δὲ κ.τ.λ.*

*β[α]*] which appears in five of the chief MSS is rejected by some of the editors as unnecessary with *οὐ πείθοντας*. But Kühner and Bornemann justify it as an emphatic phrase like *ἐκόντες οὐκ ἄκοντες* and many others.

§ 12. *ταῦτ' οὖν οὐκ ἀξιούμεν*] 'now we protest against this.' Coryllas, as we are told in VI. 1. 2, was at this time the ruler of Paphlagonia, and his name appears again in VII. 8. 24 in a list of the Persian authorities which is probably spurious.

§ 13. *ἡμεῖς δὲ*] This use of *δὲ* in answer to *ὑμεῖς μὲν λέγετε ταῦτα* or some similar thought in the mind of the speaker is noticed by Kühner as of frequent occurrence in the speeches of Xenophon.

§ 14. καὶ εἰ τις] The MSS as a rule give καὶ νῦν εἰ τις, and one καὶ μὴν εἰ τις, a reading which Kühner praises highly, but which is hardly in accordance with the simple style of Xenophon.

§ 17. Χαλδαίους] As Macmichael suggests, the *Armeno-Chalybes* (cf. IV. 7. 15) are probably meant, for the Χαλδαῖοι are only casually mentioned as mercenaries in IV. 3. 4, while according to Strabo the Chaldaei of his time were originally known as the Chalybes.

§ 18. Μάκρωνας δὲ] Μάκρωνας δέ γε is read by the majority of the MSS, but in a passage like the present where no fresh contrast is introduced the adversative δὲ is sufficient in itself without the addition of a strengthening particle.

τῶν ἐκείνων] Ἐκείνων is of course dependent on the neuter τῶν. Cf. II. 5. 38 Κύρου ἦσαν τοῦ ἐκείνου δούλου, where the collocation is still more objectionable.

§ 19. Ἀρμοστήν] Ἀρμοστής properly denotes a governor sent out by the Lacedæmonians to their dependent states, though the term was afterwards adopted in the same connexion by the other Greek communities.

§ 20. παρελθόντας] 'that some of our number entered the town.'

αὐτὸ τὸ χωρίον] 'we entered by that quarter of the city where the nature of the ground invited us.' This is Kühner's rendering of the passage on the analogy of νάπος γὰρ αὐτοὺς ὑπεδέχετο (VI. 5. 31). Although it is not entirely satisfactory, it is the only one which is admissible if αὐτὸ τὸ χωρίον is to be retained as part of the text. But the readings ἐδέχοντο and οὐκ ἐδέχοντο, between which the MSS are divided, suggest perhaps the following reading and interpretation: ἡ ἡμῶν ἐδέχοντο αὐτοὶ, τὸ χωρίον ταύτην εἰσελθόντες, 'our entry was made after the fashion of *their* welcome,' i.e. without permission being given or received.

κομίσασθαι] 'that it may rest with us to take back our wounded.'

§ 22. ἡμεῖς δὲ] A not uncommon use of δὲ in the *apodosis*, 'we on the other hand.'

καὶ φίλον ποιήσῃμεθα] 'we will treat him as an actual friend.' Ἡμῶν καὶ φίλον ποιήσομεν is the reading and punctuation of Kühner, which cannot however be regarded as satisfactory, for the rhythm of the sentence suggests irresistibly that ἡμῶν should be connected with δοκῇ, while the middle ποιήσεσθε has been used in the corresponding clause. If ποιήσῃμεθα be too violent a change from the MS reading ποιήσομεν, I should propose to understand the latter as suggesting the scheme which follows: 'we will take measures to make the Paphlagonian an actual friend,' a rendering which would account for the use of the active in place of the middle.

## CHAPTER VI.

§§ 1—10. On the following day the troops are assembled, and the ambassadors from Sinope are consulted as to the future course of the expedition. Hecatonymus points out the difficulties they would experience in a march through the country, and advises them to proceed by sea.

§ 1. παρακαλέαντας] The participle is to be referred to the Greeks who are the main subject of the sentence.

(ἡγούμενοι)] This participle, which appears in the majority of the

mss, is rightly rejected by Kühner as an interpolation. Students of Greek prose will observe the position which *ἀν* occupies in this and the following sentence though *εἶναι* is the verb to which it actually refers.

*προσδεῖν*] 'to need help *in addition* from the Sinopians.' I cannot but think that Kühner is wrong in regarding this compound as merely a stronger form of *δεῖν*, for without the aid of the Sinopians it lay beyond the power of the Greeks to provide themselves with a fleet. Besides which, *πρός* is not one of the prepositions which are ordinarily used to strengthen the force of a verb.

§ 2. *Ἑλλῃσι*] Had the author chosen to write *Ἑλλῃνας* for *Ἑλλῃσι* the sentence would have presented no difficulty. Avoiding however the juxtaposition of the two accusatives, he has made the word *Ἑλλῃσι* depend rather on the idea contained in *ἐθνους τε εἶναι καὶ... ξυμβουλεύειν* than on the verb *δέχεσθαι* which in strict sequence it follows. Trans. 'And begged them, as Greeks dealing with Greeks, to inaugurate a kindly welcome thus, viz. by a show of friendliness and by advising them for the best.' The explanation suggested by Stephens, which makes the dative *Ἑλλῃσι* dependent on *ὄντας*, though it removes all the other difficulties of construction, is rejected by the majority of the editors owing to the unusual character of the phrase *Ἑλλῃνας ὄντας Ἑλλῃσι*.

§ 3. *ἀπελογήσατο*] 'alleged in defence of his statement...that he did not make it as implying that his countrymen would oppose the Greeks.' For the construction *ὡς τοῖς Ἑλλῃσι πολεμούντων σφῶν*, cf. I. 3. 6, *ὡς ἐμοῦ οὖν λόγος ὅπη ἂν καὶ ὑμεῖς*, and notice in particular the ingenuity with which the mood is changed from the optative to the indicative (*αἰρήσονται*) when the speaker comes to the more certain of the two alternatives.

*ὥδε*] Like *δεῖ* in v. 3. 9, *ὥδε* is purposely placed where it may do duty with either verb, 'having made the following appeal to heaven he proceeded to this effect.'

§ 4. *ξυμβουλεύομαι*] The mood hardly expresses the confidence we should expect in a speaker whose truthfulness is at stake.

*ἢ ἱερὰ ξυμβουλὴ*] In allusion to the proverb *ἱερὸν ἢ ξυμβουλὴ χρῆμα* (Plat. *Theag.* 122, B). 'For here before us we have in my idea a realisation of what the proverb styles *sacred counsel*.'

*ἔσονται*] which has been altered into *ἔσεσθε* by the majority of the editors, is retained by Kühner, who points out that only the Greeks who heard Hecatonymus would suffer from his dishonesty, while others would praise him supposing his advice proved successful.

§ 5. *πεδία κάλλιστα*] e. g. *Themiscyra* and *Gadilonitis* (Strabo XII. 546, 548).—*ὁρῇ ὑψηλότατα*, e. g. *Cytorus*.

§ 7. *εὐθὺς*] like *εὐθὺ* and *protenus*, 'as you go forward.'

*τῆς ὁδοῦ καθ' ἑκάτερα*] 'on either side of the road.' For the order of the words cf. Diod. Sic. IV. 74, *κατ' ἑκαστὴν τῆς Ἀσίας περὶ τὴν νῦν ὀνομαζομένην Παφλαγονίαν*.

*κρατεῖν*] The infinitive is to be taken alone: 'by holding which even a very small number of troops may be masters of the situation.' Macmichael suggests that *κρατεῖν κατέχοντες* is equivalent to *κατὰ κράτος κατέχειν*, but the infinitive *διελθεῖν*, with which it is contrasted, leaves

no doubt as to the true meaning of κρατεῖν. Notice the force of the article in the phrase of πάντες ἄνθρωποι, 'all the men in the world.'

§ 8. καὶ οὖν] 'only the other day they did not present themselves at the king's command.' The allusion is to Corylas who at a later period, as we learn from Xenophon *Ages.* III. 4, openly espoused the cause of Agesilaus.

§ 9. τὰ τε ὅρη κλέψαι] Cf. IV. 6. 11, and the corresponding use of *subducere* in Latin e.g. in Pers. 1. 95.

τὸν Θερμόδοντα] The *Thermodon* and the *Iris* both rise in Pontus, and after a westerly and then a northerly course fall into the *Sinus Amisenus* on the Euxine. The *Parthenius* mentioned below forms the boundary between Paphlagonia and Bithynia, and discharges itself into the Euxine near *Amastris*.

§§ 11—14. Though partially distrusting his advice, the Greeks determine to proceed by sea, if a sufficient number of vessels are forthcoming for the conveyance of the troops.

§ 11. τῆς Κορύλλας] For the objective genitive see note on δ' αἰσχύνει Κύρου (III. 1. 10).

οἱ δ' οὖν Ἕλληνες] Observe the force of δ' οὖν: 'in any case (i.e. notwithstanding their suspicions) the Greeks determined to go by sea.'

§ 12. ἱκανὰ ἀριθμῶ] Kühner is the only editor of importance who attempts to defend the reading of the MSS ἱκανά, ὡς ἀριθμῶ ἕνα...μὴ καταλείπεσθαι. Had the words which follow been written in their usual sequence (μὴδ' ἕνα καταλείπεσθαι), the analogous phrase in Latin (*numero ne unus quidem*) would have gone far to justify this position of ἀριθμῶ in the sentence. As it is, the point of the comparison is lost, and the majority of the editors are right, I think, in treating the substantive as a part of the usual phrase ἱκανὰ ἀριθμῶ.

ἕνα μὴ] which is a more emphatic expression than μὴδ' ἕνα, may be illustrated by a precisely similar phrase in Thuc. II. 51, ἐν τε οὐδὲν κατέστη λαμα, ὡς εἰπεῖν, ὅτι χρὴν προσφέροντας ὠφελεῖν.

ἡμεῖς ἂν πλείομεν] is read by four of the leading MSS, while the majority give ἡμεῖς δὲ πλείομεν ἂν, to which Kühner rightly objects on the ground that any such emphasis as would be given by δὲ in the *apodosis* is out of place in connexion with the pronoun ἡμεῖς.

§ 13. κρατῶμεν] 'are masters of the situation.' Cf. κρατεῖν in § 7. With the phrase ἐν ἀνδραπέδων χώρα 'in the position of slaves,' which is peculiar to Xenophon, compare the corresponding expressions ἐν οὐδεμῇ χώρᾳ ἔσονται (V. 7. 28), and ἐν μισθοφόρου χώρᾳ εἶναι (*Cyrop.* II. 1. 18).

§§ 15—18. The intention of Xenophon to found a colony in the country is defeated by Silanus, a priest who had been in the service of Cyrus.

§ 15. ἱκανοὺς] is here equivalent to δυνατοὺς, 'efficient,' 'in good condition.'

ἀπ' ὁλίγων χρημάτων] 'where a force of the same magnitude could not have been provided (for the purpose) without a large expenditure.'

§ 16. ἐπὶ τούτοις] 'with this view.'

§ 18. παρὰ Κύρου ἔλαβε] The circumstances under which Silanus received this present from Cyrus are told in I. 7. 18.

§§ 19—26. *On the suggestion of Timasion and Thorax, the Sinopians and their neighbours offer money to the Greeks on condition of their speedy departure from the country. Settlements in the Troad or the Thracian Chersonese are proposed to them by Timasion and Thorax respectively.*

§ 19. ἐξενποροῦσι] In place of this verb the majority of the editors read ἐκποροῦσι, objecting to ἐξενπορῆν as a barbarous compound. But, in addition to the fact that the four chief MSS give ἐξενποροῦσι in the present passage, the form is found in other writers where the reading cannot be questioned.

ὅτι...ὅτι] In VII. 4. 5, will be found a similar instance of the repetition of ὅτι after a parenthesis: "Ἐλεγεν ὅτι, εἰ μὴ καταβήσονται καὶ πείσονται, ὅτι κατακαύσει καὶ τούτων τὰς κώμας."

§ 20. ὀρώμεν ἡμᾶς ἀπόρους ὄντας] Kühner notices the construction as supplying greater emphasis than the usual phrase ὀρώμεν ἀποροὶ ὄντες. It is very questionable however whether the latter would have been admissible, as it does not follow that, because αἰσθανόμεθα ἀποροὶ ὄντες is a recognized idiom, therefore the verb ὀρᾶν can be used in the same connexion.

ἐν τῷ ἀπὸπλῳ] 'on the voyage.'

[ὥς] οἵκαδε ἀπελθόντας] The word ὥς, which Kühner admits to be inexplicable, is nevertheless retained by Dindorf and himself on the authority of five leading MSS. All the other editors either omit or bracket it. There is at any rate no possibility of explaining it as a combination of two constructions which is the usual resort in similar cases (e.g. ἦδεν ὅτι ὀλίγους ἔχοντας in III. 1. 20), and, if it is to be retained as part of the text, we must understand it as giving its usual force to the participle ἀπελθόντας, 'on the supposition that we have left for home.'

εἰ δὲ βούλεσθε] As Kühner points out, the difficulties which have been discovered in this sentence by Schneider, Long and others are purely imaginary. The genitive τῆς κύκλῳ χώρας is clearly to be taken in a partitive sense after ἐκλεξάμενοι, while the indicative βούλεσθε by a very common idiom is followed (i) by the simple infinitive κατασχεῖν, and (ii) by an accusative and infinitive, τὸν μὲν ἐθέλοντα ἀπείναι κ.τ.λ. The apodosis of the sentence commences with the words πλοῖα δέ. Reiske has needlessly undertaken to rewrite the passage by supplying ἐξεσται before τὸν μὲν, placing a colon at αὐτοῦ, and making the words πλοῖα δέ commence a new sentence.

§ 21. προστατεῦσαι] 'to use his influence to effect the withdrawal of the troops.' With this construction of προστατεῦσαι, which appears again in *Cyrop.* I. 2. 5, compare the analogous use of προξενεῖν in the Greek Tragedians (e.g. *Soph. Ed. Col.* 465). The employment of ὅπως with the first aorist subjunctive ἐκπλεύσῃ should be particularly noticed by the student, as it is one of the many passages which disprove the canon laid down by Dawes that ὅπως is never joined to the subjunctive of the first aorist (act. or midd.). In the present instance no change to the future indicative is possible without a radical alteration in the form of the verb.

§ 22. τῶν στρατιωτῶν] 'of men who were soldiers.' With προσέχω supply τὸν νοῦν, 'we must not turn our thoughts to staying in the country.'



§ 23. ἀπὸ νουμηνίας] 'starting from the time of the new moon,' with which compare ἀπὸ τοῦτου τοῦ χρόνου οὐδενὸς ἐστὶ τούτων ἐμέμνητο. The Cyzicenean stater, like the δαρεικός, was equivalent to twenty silver drachmæ of Attic money.

§ 24. τῆς Φαραβάζου ἀρχῆς] by which the satrapy of Dascylis is meant, contained the above-mentioned provinces, including Bithynia. Dercyllidas, who is mentioned below, had been the Lacedæmonian harmost at Abydus.

§ 25. ὥστε τῷ βουλομένῳ] The dative, for which we should naturally have expected τὸν βουλόμενον, is curious, and Weiske suggests that it depends on εἶσεσθαι, which is to be supplied from the previous clause. This is at any rate better than Schneider's suggestion, who proposes to omit ὥστε without regard to the elegance or rhythm of the sentence. But Kühner's explanation, that τῷ βουλομένῳ is accommodated by a species of attraction to the case of αὐτοῖς, is undoubtedly the correct one.

In III. i. 43, we have already had occasion to notice the occurrence of the poetic verb μαστεύειν.

§ 26. μισθοφορίαν] which is found in three of the best MSS in place of μισθοφορᾶν, though equivalent to *opera mercenaria* rather than to *merces*, as Kühner points out, is often used indiscriminately with μισθοφορᾶ in the latter sense. ὥστε ἐκπλεῖν, 'on the understanding that they left the country by sea.'

§§ 27—33. The conduct of Xenophon is called in question by Philisius and Lycan. His speech in reply.

§ 28. ἀρχεσθαι λέγειν] For the use of the infinitive in place of the participle see note on III. i. 26.

§ 29. ὡς δὲ γινώσκων] 'knowing, as he might well do.'

§ 30. ἀφ' οὗ ἂν γένοιτο] 'should have considered by what means it could be effected.' The change of mood from the indicatives ἐώραν and ἐσκόπων to the optative with ἂν is noteworthy, but at the same time explicable, as the words ἂν γένοιτο do not point, as do the previous verbs, to conditions which are already impossible.

τὸν δὲ μὴ βουλόμενον] *sub.* ἀποπλεῖν τότε.

§ 31. σωζόμενους] 'when we are safe in the place where we wish to be.'

ἐκείνης τῆς διαπόλεως] in reference to his intention of founding a colony.

§ 32. κατὰ μικρὰ γενομένης] 'if your forces are broken up piecemeal.' For this combination of a participle in the nominative with a genitive absolute compare a corresponding passage in I. i. 7, and for the circumstances under which ἂν may be repeated in the same sentence see note on IV. 6. 13.

ἀπαλλάξαιτε] 'so that you would not come off with impunity.' This intransitive use of the verb ἀπαλλάττειν in the sense of *abire* is common with the Greek tragedians, e.g. *Æd. Tyr.* 363.

§§ 34—end. Objections are raised by Silanus to the proposals of Xenophon, but he is overruled by the majority. As the inhabitants of the country fail to supply the promised funds, Timasion and Thorax in alarm agitate for a change of route.

§ 34. ἐλθήσονται...ἐπιθροῖσαι] Observe this combination of the direct with the oblique narration, which presents an additional peculiarity in

the instance before us, as it is the conditional clause of the sentence (*ἐλ λήψονται ἀποδιδράσκοντα*) which is here expressed in the direct form.

§ 35. τὰ δὲ χρήματα...τῆς μισθοφορίας] The best editors are agreed in making the genitive depend on χρήματα, comparing IV. 3. 1, where there is an instance of a similar trajection, ἀπείχε δὲ τῶν ὁρέων ὁ ποταμὸς ὡς ἐξ ἡ ἑπτά στάδια τῶν Καρδούχων. On the other hand, Krüger and Hutchinson regard the words τῆς μισθοφορίας as an interpolation. It is possible, I think, to treat τὰ χρήματα as an anticipatory accusative, and, understanding μισθοφορίας in the sense of μισθοφορὰς, to regard the genitive as dependent on ἐψευσμένοι ἦσαν.

§ 36. ἀνεκεκωλωτο] For the distinction in sense between the active and middle of this verb see note on ἀνακονοῦνται (III. 1. 5).

ἐἰς Φάσιν] i. e. the Colchian Phasis, rising in Mount Caucasus, which must be carefully distinguished from the river of the same name mentioned earlier in IV. 6. 4.

§ 37. Αἰήτου] According to Strabo, Æetes had from mythical times been the regular patronymic of the kings of Colchis. As Krüger observes, the reigning prince must have been well known to the Greeks, as otherwise we should have expected a more precise description.

οὐκ ἐκκλησιάζειν] 'that he was against holding a public meeting,' while μὴ ἐκκλησιάζειν, which appears in all but the four best MSS, would signify 'voted that they should not hold a meeting.'

## CHAPTER VII.

§§ 1—4. *Great discontent is caused amongst the troops by the report that Xenophon intends to lead them to the Phasis. Whereupon he calls a meeting in order to justify his conduct.*

§ 1. [τὰ] πραττόμενα] In this case I have preferred to follow Bornemann and Dindorf who object with good reason to this position of the article in the sentence, while Kühner on the other hand retains it on the authority of three good MSS. So far as internal evidence goes, no objection can be raised to the reading οἱ δὲ στρατιῶται ἀνεψύχοντο ταῦτα πραττόμενα which appears in the majority of the MSS, though it is naturally viewed with suspicion as an attempt to re-arrange the words in their natural order.

πάλιν ἐἰς Φάσιν] Either from misconception or with the deliberate intention of misleading the troops, Neon alludes to the Phasis as identical with the river of the same name mentioned in IV. 6. 4.

§ 2. κύκλοι] This word, with which compare the phrase κατὰ ξυστάσεις γίγνεσθαι (Thuc. VIII. 83), is equivalent to *corona* and *circuli* in Latin.

φοβεροὶ ἦσαν μὴ ποιήσειαν] The construction is an ordinary one, and compare amongst other examples δῆλοι ἦσαν ὅτι ἐπικελεύονται (V. 2. 6), and Herod. I. 155, οὐδὲν δεινὸν τοι ἔσονται μὴ ἀποστέωσι. No mention has been made of this occurrence in the earlier portion of the narrative, but a full account of it is given afterwards in § 23 of the present book. Krüger considers that the omission was intentional on the part of the author, who would otherwise have been compelled to repeat himself. But

the words which follow (δοῖν γὰρ μὴ κ.τ.λ.) contain in themselves all that is required by way of explanation, more especially as it was an occurrence which, but for the exigencies of his speech, Xenophon might have been well content to pass over in silence.

τοὺς ἀγορανομοῦν] These officers were appointed to regulate the sale of provisions in the soldiers' market, and in this capacity would correspond to the commissariat of modern times.

§ 3. ἀγορὰν] for ἐκκλησίαν, a sense in which it does not appear elsewhere in Xenophon. The usage is no doubt borrowed from Homer and the epic poets. It likewise appears in inscriptions, and once in Æschines (c. Ctes. p. 421), where we have the phrase φυλῶν ἀγορὰν.

§§ 5—33. The speech of Xenophon, in which he describes the damage that would be caused to their comfort and reputation if they resorted to violent measures in dealing with the inhabitants.

§ 5. ὡς ἐγὼ ἄρα] Observe the ironical force of ἄρα, in allusion to the fact that it was the generals themselves who had originated the scheme.

φαίνομαι δδίκων] I cannot appreciate the reasons which have induced Kühner to read the infinitive on the authority of two MSS in preference to the participle, which is the regular construction, and occurs moreover in the next clause. To imagine that a contrast is intended between the two constructions in point of sense is out of the question in dealing with a style so simple and unartificial as Xenophon's.

§ 6. ἐνθα μὲν ἀνίσχει] Schaefer, on the authority of some inferior MSS, proposes to reconstruct the sentence thus: ὡς ἡλῖος ἐνθεν μὲν ἀνίσχει, δόεται μὲν ἐνταῦθα· ἐνθα δὲ δόεται, ἀνίσχει δ' ἐντεῦθεν, a reading which Kühner naturally regards with suspicion as an attempt to make the clauses of the sentence exactly correspond.

§ 7. ἀλλὰ μὴν]=jam vero, 'then again.' The occurrence of the two forms βορέας and βορρᾶς in such close conjunction is remarkable, though both are used indiscriminately by the other Attic writers (e.g. in Thuc. II. 96, III. 4. 23 we have the uncontracted form, and in VI. 2, the contracted).

§ 8. ἐμβιβῶ] The Attic form of the future ἐμβιβάσω. 'But, you say, I shall take advantage of a calm when I wish to embark you.'

§ 9. ποιῶ δ'] 'I assume however, that, beguiled and tricked by me, you have reached the Phasis: let us assume further that we make a landing in the country.' In the phrase καὶ δὴ [καὶ] Kühner following three MSS would omit the second καὶ, and, had this been the leading clause in the sentence, no objection could have been raised to its omission. As it is, some word is required to connect this clause with the former, as otherwise the second assumption introduced by the phrase καὶ δὴ becomes exceedingly abrupt and awkward.

§ 10. τί γάρ;] A phrase which is often employed in hurried and energetic narration to bridge over the transition from one topic to another.

ἐγὼ τι] Krüger would retain the interrogative *τινι* in this passage, justifying the position of the emphatic words ἐγὼ *τινι* by a similar collocation in *Cyrop.* IV. 6. 8, σὺ ἡμῶν τί ἀπὲρ τοῦτων ὑπηρετήσεις;

§ 11. ἐξαπατηθῆναι ἂν οἰεται ταῦτα] 'thinks that he could himself

be deceived by these schemes or that he could deceive another thereby.' The above is Kühner's rendering, who apparently regards the construction of ταῦτα as identical in both cases. But, considering how rarely an active verb is found with this construction, I should strongly prefer to understand ταῦτα in the second case as the direct subject to εξαπατηῖσθαι, while in the first Kühner is no doubt right in taking it as a cognate with εξαπατηθῆναι. Tr. 'that he could himself be deceived by these means, or that they could impose upon another.'

§ 12. αἷς ἔχητε] 'when you have satisfied yourselves on this point.' ἔπεισι] 'if it shall make head against us,' like *ingruere, invadere* in Latin. With ὑποδείκνυσιν we may supply ἔσεσθαι out of ἔσται.

§ 13. πάλιν εἰθεῖν] 'came back again.' Dindorf and Kühner follow three good MSS in reading πάλιν ἀπῆλθον in place of πάλιν εἰθεῖν. But I cannot consider this authority sufficient to justify the introduction of a construction which makes the word πάλιν superfluous, and the sentence ungrammatical. If there were overwhelming evidence in favour of the reading δοκοῦσι δέ μοι...ἀπῆλθον, it might of course be explained as (i) a combination of the two constructions ὡς δοκοῦσι δέ μοι...ἀπῆλθον, and δοκοῦσι δέ μοι...ἀπελθεῖν, or (ii) as a species of attraction by which δοκεῖ δέ μοι takes the form of δοκοῦσι δέ μοι. Kühner instances the following passage in v. 8. 22 as a case in point, οἶμαι γάρ, εἰ ἐθέλετε σκοπεῖν, τοὺς αὐτοὺς εὐρήσετε καὶ τότε κακίστους καὶ νῦν ὑβριστοτάτους, in which however the phrase οἶμαι...εὐρήσετε is scarcely to be called irregular.

§ 15. τόδε] which is omitted in the majority of the MSS and for which Krüger suggests τοῦτο, is defended by Kühner as having a *deictic* force.

οἱ ἐκ τοῦ πλοίου σύσκηροι] A pregnant construction, of which we have had repeated examples. In the present instance it denotes that his friends who were on the water co-operated *from that quarter* with Clearchus who was on the shore.

§ 16. οἱ δέ τινες] 'some few of them.' Lit. 'the remainder who were few in number.'

§ 17. τῶν δὲ πλεόντων] In allusion to the party who in v. 4. 1 are described as ἐκ Κερασσούντος κατὰ θάλατταν κομιζόμενοι.

§ 18. ἐπεὶ μέντοι σφεῖς λέγειν] The entire passage is full of difficulties, which are for the most part removed if we are content to omit the words σφεῖς λέγειν on the authority of the four leading MSS. Kühner however prefers to regard them as genuine since no reasonable grounds can be suggested for their interpolation, and he illustrates the use of λέγειν for λέγοιεν in the oblique narration by a precisely similar passage in II. 2. 1, οἳτοι δ' ἔλεγον, ὅτι πολλοὺς φαίη Ἀργίους εἶναι Πέρσας...οὓς οὐκ ἂν ἀνασχέσθαι αὐτοῦ βασιλεύοντος. As regards the rest of the construction, ἔφασαν is of course parenthetical 'our informants told us' (in allusion to the previous words ὡς οἱ Κερασσούντιοι λέγουσιν), while ὅτι...γένετο τὸ πρᾶγμα depends on λέγειν. The only other point requiring explanation is the introduction of αὐτοῖς before θάπτειν, which we may either regard as redundant or as added for emphasis, 'ordering them of their own accord.' Translate the passage thus: 'When however, as our informants added, they had themselves explained that the scheme had not originated with the army as a whole,

the ambassadors were then well pleased, and intended to sail hither to tell us what had happened, at the same time ordering on their part that those interested in the matter should recover and bury the dead.' *Τοὺς τοῦτου δεομένους* is an unusual phrase in place of *τοὺς προσηκόντας* or some other similar expression.

§ 19. *τῶν δ' ἀποφυγόντων τινὰς* 'EΛ.] For the position of *τινὰς* see note on *τῶν δὲ ἀποσκευασμένων τινὰς* (IV. 4. 9). In the majority of the MSS, with the exception however of the four leading ones, the nominative takes the place of the accusative throughout, a reading which no doubt originated in the attempt to make this clause of the sentence harmonize with the succeeding one where the author passes from the oblique to the direct narration.

§ 20. *ταφείησαν*] For this rare form of the optative, cf. *ἀποπηθείησαν* in III. 4. 29.

§ 22. *ὡς ἂν καὶ ἐωρακότες*] 'as was natural since they had been spectators of the disaster at home.' The particle *ἂν*, to which Poppo takes exception, is quite in keeping with the passage, and the optative which it implies may be understood from either *δελταυτες* or *ἀποχωροῦσι*.

§ 26. *τούτους τί δοκεῖτε;*] 'what think ye of these men?' i.e. of their flight and conduct. Compare the familiar phrase *quid illum censet*? (Ter. Andr. v. 2. 12).

§ 27. *οἱ πάντες*] 'the main portion of the army.' Cf. *οἱ πάντες ἀνθρώποι* (V. 6. 7).

*τῶν πρὸς ὑμᾶς λόγων*] These words depend on the previous genitive *τῶν λόγων*.

§ 30. *διεπράξαντο*] 'have brought it to pass that we are the only men of all the Greeks for whom it is unsafe to enter Cerasus except with the protection of a strong force.' In place of *ἀφικνεῖσθαι* two of the leading MSS read *ἀφικνήσθε*. Both the one reading and the other may be defended, as in the former case it is easy to understand *ἀφικνήσθε* with the words *ἂν μὴ σὺν ἰσχυρί*, and, in the latter, *ἀφικνεῖσθαι* with *μὴ ἀσφαλὲς εἶναι*.

*ξὺν κηρυκίῳ*] 'with a herald's wand,' equivalent to our 'flag of truce.'

§ 31. *ἀλλ' ἡμεῖς*] Weiske is probably right, who justifies this *ἀλλὰ* by the negative idea which is implied in the previous question: 'no one, but we had in consequence to ask the Cerasuntians to bury them.'

*δοξάτω ὑμῖν*] 'let a decree be passed, so that, understanding this to be the order of the day, each of us may set a watch for his personal safety.' The words *ἐρυμνά* (*ὑπερδέξια*), which are beset with difficulties, strangely enough pass unnoticed by Kühner. If Krüger be right in suggesting that either *ἐρυμνά* or *ὑπερδέξια* is an interpolation, I should be strongly in favour of omitting the latter word, of which none of the editors offer an intelligible explanation. The general meaning of the passage is sufficiently plain: 'if anarchy is to be the order of the day let each man look to himself and choose a strong position for his camp.'

§ 33. *τοιαῦτα*] It would have been scarcely necessary to mention that *τοιαῦτα* is to be taken with *ἐξαμαρτάνοντες* had not White and Macmichael joined it with *τὰ μέγιστα* in their translations.

ἐπαύου] Had the construction been a regular one, the genitive ἐπαύου would have been represented by ἐπαυον, the cognate accusative after ἐπαύεσθαι. As it is, it is attracted into the case of the relative οὗ. The majority of the MSS, with the exception of the two best, read αὐ after ἐπαύεσθαι, which Kühner is no doubt right in omitting, as the addition of αὐ would increase the probability of the result and thus weaken the force of the question.

§§ 34—end. *Resolutions are passed to authorise the punishment of future disobedience, and a court of inquiry is appointed to consider the conduct of the generals since the death of Cyrus.*

§ 34. τοῦ δὲ λοιποῦ] 'at no time in the future.' For the force of the genitive see note on πέντε ἡμερῶν (IV. 7. 20).

§ 35. καθαρός] A lustration, to purify the army from the guilt caused by the murder of the three ambassadors.

## CHAPTER VIII.

§§ 1, 2. *The generals are brought to trial. Philesius and Xanthicles are fined twenty minæ, and Sophænetus ten, while Xenophon himself is charged with having struck a soldier.*

§ 1. δίδοντων] 'when the generals were put on their trial.' The MSS vary in their readings, the majority giving δίδοντες and the best δίδοντων. I have explained at length the distinctive force of the genitive absolute in a note on οἰκισθέντος (V. 3. 7).

τῆς φυλακῆς] 'for their negligent custody of the transport goods were fined twenty minæ, the amount of the loss.' For τῆς φυλακῆς in the sense of 'non-protection' compare in particular the following phrases: (i) ἐξ ἐμφανῶν καταστάσεων, 'for non-production of available documents' (Dem. πρὸς Νικοσ. 1251), and (ii) de missione litterarum (Cic. ad Att. I. 5. 2), where missione is equivalent in sense to intermissione.

The words τῶν γαυλικῶν χρημάτων refer to the transport goods mentioned as ἀγώγιμα in V. 1. 16.

§§ 3—end. *His defence and acquittal.*

§ 3. ἀλλὰ μὴν] 'well indeed!' The phrase implies astonishment, like the corresponding expression *at vero*.

παρόν] 'if it was not possible even to get a scent of wine.' The expression was a proverbial one to judge from Athen. IV. p. 134, ἀπαρτες ὀρχοῦν' εὐθύς, ἢν οἶνου μόνον ὁσμὴν ἴδωσιν. Kühner is no doubt right in reading παρόν for παρόντος with the best MSS, if only on the ground that any alteration would no doubt have been made in the opposite direction.

ἀπαγορευόντων] This use of the verb occurs again in I. 5. 3.

τῶν ὄνων ὑβριστέριος] A proverbial expression, which appears in Luc. Pseudolog. 2 and Piscat. 34. Compare too Herod. IV. 129, where we have an apt illustration of this particular use of the proverb.

§ 4. ἐκ τίτος] A most unusual substitute for the ordinary phrase διὰ τί, which takes its place in the corresponding passage of § 12.

§ 7. τοιαύτη] It has been remarked above that Xenophon is not always careful to observe the recognised distinction in his use of the words τοιαύτη, τοιόδε and the like.

From the account which follows we gather that the man in question had acted as baggage-carrier for a portion of the troops, and that Xenophon had relieved him of this duty for the time being that he might be free to carry a wounded comrade.

§ 8. κατελείπετο] A strong imperfect 'was on the point of being left behind.'

§ 10. ὅποσα γε βούλει] The editors are generally agreed in accepting the reading and interpretation of Muretus: *vivat sane quantum vult; nam ego quidem cum hinc non aveham*, while Zeune retains σὸ δ' εἶπες ὅποσα γε ἐβούλου, which he understands as follows: 'your words were in accordance with your wishes.'

§ 11. καὶ γὰρ] 'why yes, we shall all of us die.' An ellipse must be understood to complete the construction: 'well said, for in truth we must all of us die.'

§ 12. ὀλίγας] *sub. πληγὰς*. The word is emphatic by position, 'fewer than he deserved.'

§ 13. σώζεσθαι μὲν ἥρκει] 'were content to save their lives by our efforts, who had to march and fight at our posts.' There is no need to understand ἥρκει with Macmichael as equivalent to ἥρκει ἄν. Indeed he strangely misinterprets the entire passage when he refers the participles *λόντων καὶ μαχομένων*, which are really explanatory of ἡμᾶς, to the same subject as *δοῖς*. With the words *αὐτοὶ δὲ λιπόντες* the sentence becomes irregular, as a nominative takes the place of the dative, which would have been the regular sequence in consideration of the construction *δοῖς... ἥρκει* above. The author, however, by the commonest of idioms closes the sentence as though he had commenced it with the usual nominative and verb.

§ 14. κατέμαθον ἀναστὰς] 'I found that I rose and stretched my legs with difficulty.'

§ 15. ὅποτε ὡοίμι] The optative is of course frequentative.

§ 16. παίουντο] Kühner is probably right in reading *παίουντο* for *παλοῖντο* with the two chief MSS, the plural being often found after ἄλλος and τίς when they are used in a collective or indefinite sense.

§ 17. καὶ γὰρ οὖν] He proceeds to justify his conduct by the results: 'in fact now that they are safe out of danger they have full power, you see, to get satisfaction for any wrong.'

μέγα ἄν οὕτως ἐπαθὼν] Equivalent to οὕτω μέγα ἄν ἐπαθὼν, except that additional emphasis is given to the statement by the position of οὕτως.

§ 18. ὑπέχειν δίκην] Ironical: 'I am content to give such satisfaction as sons may claim from parents and schoolboys from their masters.'

§ 19. σὺν τοῖς θεαῖς] 'thanks to the favour of Heaven.' The expression occurs repeatedly in Xenophon (e.g. in III. 1. 23, and again in III. 2. 8). For the omission of the participle in the phrase ἐν εὐδία (ὄντας), Kühner compares *Cyrop.* III. 3. 67, and *Dem. de Cor.* p. 298, 211.

§ 21. κατεδικάζαρε] 'you gave sentence against them.' By this translation we retain the legitimate force of the compound which is lost in the rendering proposed by Kühner and Hutchinson: *vestro*

*judicio declarastis*. The argument used by Xenophon is something as follows: 'Your taking no part with them was, so far, a verdict in my favour: on the other hand their confidence was increased by your simply being passive in the matter.'

§ 23. ἀποδέδυκεν] The use of this perfect in a transitive sense should be noticed as unusual.

§ 24. τοῦτον τάναντία ποιήσετε] A very good MS gives τοῦτων for τοῦτον, a reading which, as Kühner remarks, would have required αἱ in place of ἡ.

διδάσει] In place of διδάσει all the MSS, with the exception of the two best, give δεσμεύουσι, which is condemned by Kühner as *apertum glossema*. The verb διδμηι is Homeric and occurs in *Il.* λ. 105, and its introduction here is strictly characteristic of the author's style in which a rare or poetical word is so often used to set off a commonplace sentence.

§ 25. χειμῶνα ἐπεκούρησα] This use of ἐπικουρεῖν with an accusative of the object in place of the usual dative may be illustrated from Milton's *Comus* (line 845),

*Helping all urchin blasts and ill-luck signs.*

συνεξευπόρησα] συνεξεπόρησα Pors., but the reading of the text is certainly suggested in the four leading MSS, and is admirably defended by Kühner, who quotes the following examples of an active use of εὐπορεῖν, (i) Plat. *Legg.* XI. 133 ἐπικουραν ταῖς χρεαῖς ἐξευπορεῖν, and (ii) Dem. *contr. Phorm.* 962, χρημαθ' ὑμῖν προσευπορηκώς.

§ 26. ἀνεμύνησκόιν] 'recounted them at length.'

περιγέγερτο] 'and so it turned out that all went well,' though in the passage of Thuc. (II. 39) from which Kühner illustrates this use of περιγέγεσθαι the force of the compound is rather as follows: 'we have this balance in our favour, that we are not troubled by the anticipation of coming disasters.'





# INDICES

## OF THE PRINCIPAL WORDS AND CONSTRUCTIONS EXPLAINED IN THE NOTES.

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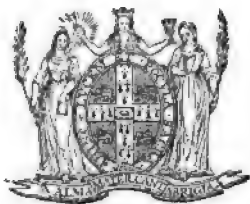
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